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EDITORIAL

The MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW will publish two special memorial issues within the current twelve months as tributes to the three outstanding Mennonite historians who have finished their earthly course during the recent past, John Horsch (†1941), Christian Hege (†1943) and Christian Neff (†1946). The January or April, 1948, number will be the Hege-Neff memorial. The current number is devoted to John Horsch.

There would be abundant reason for the REVIEW to pay tribute to John Horsch alone because of the series of outstanding articles on Swiss and Dutch Anabaptism which he contributed to this journal. He was deeply interested in the REVIEW from the very beginning. He gave it his warm encouragement and was delighted in its progress. But the justification for this memorial number is far greater than these REVIEW articles. John Horsch was without doubt the outstanding historian for the history of Anabaptism which the Mennonite Church has yet produced. The tribute we bring to his memory in the special series of articles assembled in this number is but a token payment of the great debt which the Mennonite Church and its scholarship owes to him.

Those who have read at least a part of the remarkably large literary fruit of his exhaustive research know something of our debt to John Horsch as a historian and churchman. Those of us who knew him as a Christian and a scholar can assess this debt more fully, not only in the large, but in personal influence. In him there was a rare combination of warm personal piety, indefatigable search after the truth, sturdy scholarly attainment, and unstinting devotion of self and talent to the cause of Christ and the Church. His name will remain a constant inspiration to those who follow in his train, as his works will be his continuing monument as long as men read history.

Harold S. Bender

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XXI No. 2

JOHN HORSCH, 1867-1941: A BIOGRAPHY

HAROLD S. BENDER

John Horsch was born in the small Upper Franconian village of Giebelstadt near Würzburg, Bavaria, Germany on December 18, 1867, the fourth of nine children born to Bishop Jacob Horsch and his wife Barbara Landes. He thus descended from two old and prominent Swiss-South German Mennonite families which have furnished many leaders to the South German Mennonite churches during the almost three centuries since their emigration from Switzerland. John's paternal and maternal grandfathers, Jacob Horsch and Heinrich Landes, were also bishops in the church in Upper Franconia, both having originally come from the Mennonite communities farther west at Hasselbach and Zuzenhausen near Heidelberg in Baden. On the Landes side he was a descendant of Hans Landes, last Swiss Mennonite martyr who was executed in Zurich in 1614. By his marriage to Christine Funck of Schloss Neipperg near Heilbronn, Württemberg, he became connected with another old and prominent Swiss-South German Mennonite family, his wife's father also being a Mennonite bishop. All these families were well-established rural families occupying and operating large and fertile estates, either by leasehold or ownership. As such they were in many ways characteristic middle class families, enjoying considerable prestige as accomplished farmers and successful businessmen. Throughout South Germany these Mennonites were sought by the nobility and large landholders for generations as operators of their estates, since through their efficiency they not

only increased the value of the land but paid the highest rentals. It was not uncommon for single estates to be occupied by Mennonites for many generations and for single families to continue at one place for fifty and more years. It was on just such an estate that the Horsch family in Giebelstadt had lived for two generations before Johannes was born, removing to a similar estate at the near-by village of Gelchsheim in 1871, where the young boy spent the rest of his youth.

The South German Mennonite rural family of eighty years ago was a self-contained, religiously integrated, patriarchal family of the old style. Strict paternal discipline, hard work, sober living, devout religious faith, and simple ways and habits marked their manner of life. Living in rather strict isolation from the surrounding Catholic or Protestant community, their primary social life was within the Mennonite church fellowship both local and regional. Frequent visits back and forth and strong family and clan ties, reinforced by steadfast maintenance of the simple forms of worship, faith and life of the Swiss Anabaptist forefathers, maintained a strong group solidarity. Intermarriage with "outsiders" was unknown, and seldom did any of the children forsake either the faith or the occupation of the ancestors.

Bishop Jacob Horsch, father of John, was a typical South German Mennonite bishop in his leadership in the church and patriarchal discipline in the home, in fact one of the strictest and most conservative, but he stood out above many in his interest in intellectual things. He had a relatively large library with numerous older books, both Mennonite and non-Mennonite, which the son John had access to and read. However, it was not his father, but rather his mother who was the chief influence on John's life. Not being a physically strong child, but slight in body and strength (he was never in robust health at any time in his life), nor being interested much in play, he became a special favorite of his mother. She took especial pains to cultivate companionship with him as a small boy. Daily she called him to read for her and daily he read to her from the Bible, particularly the book of Psalms, from which he learned large portions by memory, and frequently from Thomas a Kempis, Tauler, Johann Arndt, and Carl J. H. Spitta. A favorite book was the collection of religious poetry by Spitta entitled *Psalter und Harfe (Erste Sammlung Christlicher Lieder zur häuslichen Erbauung)*. Throughout his life such books, particularly Spitta, remained constant companions, and without doubt the warm and tender cast to his personal piety which was such a marked character-

istic to those who knew him intimately can be traced in great part to the experience of his early years under the influence of the loving concern of his mother and the reading which they did together. The sternness and aloofness of his father and the latter's almost complete lack of understanding of his gifted son, prevented any close bond or strong influence from developing.

John was expected to be a farmer, but he had absolutely no interest or aptitude for agriculture. On the contrary he loved books and intellectual pursuits and longed for the time when he could be delivered from the weary round of farm work and chores, of which there was plenty on a dairy and cheese-making farm with eighty head of cattle and numerous calves which were John's particular responsibility. He suffered in a special way because of his father's experience with the next older brother Jacob. Jacob, also a gifted boy, was allowed to study medicine and secured his M.D. degree from the University of Munich, after studying at Jena. But the education of the older boy was more costly than the father had expected; so when his next son John spoke of "studieren" he simply told him no, one is enough, there would be no more students in his family. So John, upon completing the eight-year grammar school (Catholic *Volksschule)* in the village of Gelchsheim in 1882, had to stay at home. For two years he tended the dairy herd and then was sent to the Bavarian State Agricultural School at near-by Würzburg where he secured the diploma in 1886.

Having now reached the age of military duty, young Horsch had to face a fundamental life decision. If he remained in Germany he would have to do military service (the Mennonites at this time had accepted non-combatant service as the compromise between the demands of the state and the claims of the nonresistant conscience and heritage which the South German churches still espoused), and in addition become a farmer. He was resolved to do neither, but rather flee to America where he could live to his conscience and possibly find other expression for his talents. In this decision he followed in the footsteps of other Mennonite emigrants of the middle and third quarter of the nineteenth century. Knowing his father was opposed to such a move, he formed his decision with the sole counsel of his mother who sympathized with him, and departed secretly, taking a Dutch ship at Rotterdam in December. He reached New York on January 3, 1887, having spent his 20th birthday on the sea. Although he had relatives at Halstead, Kansas, he made his way first to the home of Bishop John F. Funk at Elkhart, Indiana, editor and publisher of the Mennonite weekly

church paper *Herold der Wahrheit* which he had read in his home at Gelchsheim. Being a fugitive from military service and therefore a criminal under German law, he never returned to Germany until after the abolition of military service under the Weimar Republic. Then after thirty-five years he came back in 1922-23 for a long visit to his native land.

Young Horsch had hopes of employment in the Mennonite Publishing Company at Elkhart under Funk, but finding no vacancy he proceeded to Halstead, Kansas, where he stayed for several months with a farm family named Eymann for whom a cousin also named John Horsch was working. Here he took advantage of the opportunity to learn English by attending the Indian Mission School conducted by Christian Krehbiel, a noted elder and leader in the General Conference Mennonite Church. In May of that year, on renewed application, he received an offer from Funk and returned to Elkhart to begin his long career of editorial work and scholarly writing, with a first assignment to assist in translating from German to English and clerking in the bookstore operated in conjunction with the publishing house. Soon he was given more important assignments, as his capacity for editorial work was demonstrated. During the next eight years, 1887-1895, with intermittent absences to attend college, Horsch was responsible for much of the editorial work on the weekly *Herold der Wahrheit,* the German Sunday School quarterlies, and the annual German almanac called *Familienkalender.* His name appeared on the masthead of the *Herold der Wahrheit* from September 15, 1891 to June 1, 1895 as second assistant editor. It was during this period also that he collected most of his large library of early Anabaptist history.

Feeling the need for a better education young Horsch attended college for approximately two years during this period. He went first to Union Biblical Institute (now Evangelical Theological Seminary) at Naperville, Illinois, at that time a young institution with three professors, where he enrolled as a junior in a class of twelve, one of a total student body of eighteen. A transcript of studies shows that he remained two terms of the entire year of three terms (August 31, 1887 to March 7, 1888). In the fall term he took Biblical Geography, Biblical Antiquities, Church History and Old Testament History; in the winter term Church History, Biblical Theology and Hermeneutics, making high marks in all subjects. The three teachers were Bishop J. J. Esher, principal; H. J. Kiekhoefer, Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology, and S. L. Umbach, Professor of Historical and Exegetical Theol-

ogy. His second period of study, after a year at Elkhart working full-time for Funk, was at Valparaiso University, Indiana, from March 25, 1889 to the middle of August, 1889. Here his studies, according to remarks in a letter to Funk (the school records before 1895 were destroyed by fire), included Latin, World History, Grammar, and Penmanship.

His third period of study began in September, 1889, when he enrolled in a German Methodist College at Berea, near Cleveland, Ohio, called at that time German Wallace College, since merged into Baldwin-Wallace College. Here the records are more complete and admit a better picture of the young man's interests and achievements. He spent the three terms of the school year 1889-90 and the first two terms of 1890-91 studying Language and Logic; in particular German Composition, Latin Grammar, Caesar, Greek Grammar, and Logic, making in every case the best possible marks. He developed a strong interest in language, particularly Biblical languages, of which he was an ardent student intending to major in Greek and Hebrew and become a teacher in this field. This ambition he never was able to satisfy, although he did later secure a teaching position at Northern Illinois College at Fulton, Illinois, where he taught three months from September to Christmas, 1896, when the school burned down. Since there was no school during the remainder of that year he remained in Fulton engaged in private study. His fourth period of study began in September, 1897, when he enrolled in the University of Wisconsin at Madison for a year. His hope to secure the B.A. degree here was denied because of lack of sufficient residence. With a year at Wisconsin, one and two-thirds years at Wallace, two-thirds of a year at Naperville, and one-third of a year at Valparaiso plus private study at Fulton, Horsch had almost the equivalent of four years of liberal arts college work in addition to his agricultural school at Würzburg.

It was stated earlier that Horsch retained his connection with Funk until 1895. He did spend four and a half years continuously in Funk's employ, 1891-1895. They were in some respects among his most creative years, full of happy and vigorous work in historical study and prolific writing. Because of the growing tension and internal friction within the staff of the publishing company as well as in the Elkhart Mennonite Church of which Funk was bishop, and since he did not agree with Funk's personal policies which included some practices which he considered unethical, Horsch severed his connection with the Elkhart publishing interests in September, 1895, never to return. This was a bitter experience to

him, since it brought a measure of disillusionment regarding the church as well as a financial loss which left him in dire circumstances for several ensuing years. Among other things he was forced to sell at a fraction of the original cost, the precious library which he had accumulated through much sacrifice. For a short time (1895-1896) he engaged in a cereal manufacturing business producing a prepared breakfast cereal called "Vigor Food," but business was not for Horsch. He turned to teaching at Fulton, Illinois, and then after a year to further study at the University of Wisconsin as reported above. After leaving the University of Wisconsin in the spring of 1898 he turned to publishing in Madison by issuing a monthly German farm journal called *Farm und Haus,* the first number of which appeared in September, 1898. This he transferred to Elkhart in the late fall of that year. After two further years at Elkhart he moved to Berne, Indiana (September, 1900), at the invitation of the Rev. J. A. Sprunger, taking his periodical with him. Sprunger, an active minister, formerly a Mennonite, at that time affiliated loosely with the Missionary Church Association and owner and operator of the Light and Hope Publishing Company located at Berne, needed an assistant. Horsch took up employment in his print-shop while he continued to edit and publish the *Farm und Haus.* He had already become acquainted with Sprunger at the time of the latter's visit with his wife to Gelchsheim in 1885 before Horsch's coming to America. After a further year of publication in Berne, the *Farm und Haus* was sold to E.B. Betzner and A.J. Steiner who took the journal to Bluffton, Ohio. In Berne Horsch also attempted the publication of a semi-scholarly German journal in the field of Mennonite history and theology entitled *Mennonitische Vierteljahrsschrift* which discontinued after two numbers (October, 1900 and January, 1901).

Horsch continued in close association with J. A. Sprunger for the eight years, from the fall of 1900 when he came to Berne from Elkhart, to May, 1908, when he moved to Scottdale, Pa., to enter the employ of the Mennonite Publishing House. The first two years were spent in Berne working in the Light and Hope Publishing Company. When Sprunger took this publishing enterprise to Cleveland in 1902, together with the Light and Hope Orphanage which he also conducted, Horsch went along. He worked as typesetter and editor for Sprunger, 1902-1908, living at first in Cleveland. When the orphanage was moved to near-by Birmingham in 1906 Horsch moved to Birmingham also, serving part of the time as schoolteacher in the orphanage. During these years he became

a close friend with the Rev. Heinrich Dyck of Elbing, Kansas, father of the Rev. Walter Dyck now general secretary of the General Conference of Mennonites, who was also associated with Sprunger in the orphanage.

In May, 1908 Horsch accepted the position of German editor for the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pa., a position which he held the remainder of his life until his death on October 7, 1941. In this position he edited the German Sunday School quarterlies and the German almanac called *Familienkalender,* and served as office editor for several German periodicals printed by the House. He came to Scottdale at the time when the newly formed Mennonite Publication Board had taken over the Gospel Witness Publishing Company and bought out the publishing interests of the Funk enterprise at Elkhart. In this position he was also given some freedom for research and writing in Mennonite history and theology, an opportunity which he exploited to the full. However, his hope to be relieved of all routine work so that he might devote his full time to writing was never realized. The publishing enterprise at Scottdale in its early years had to struggle for existence and the elder leaders of the church were not yet persuaded of the value of historical research. That Horsch was able to accomplish as much as he did was due not only to the sacrifice of all his leisure time and energy to his study, but also to the sacrificial and sympathetic assistance of his wife who assumed some of his routine work such as proofreading to permit release of time for his writing. The officers of the Mennonite Publishing House and Publication Board made generous appropriations available to him for the building up of the unusually rich Mennonite Historical Library at Scottdale which was one of his outstanding achievements, and which included the repurchase of most of the books which he had sold to Funk in 1895.

During the varied years of his frequent change of scene 1886-1908, Horsch was at times puzzled about his church membership. He was baptized as a Mennonite by his father at Giebelstadt in 1883 at the age of fifteen, and transferred his membership by letter to the Elkhart Mennonite Church in 1887. When he left Elkhart for Berne in 1900 he took his church letter with him, but, somewhat disappointed with the Mennonite Church as he had come to know it at Elkhart, and attracted to J. A. Sprunger who had left the General Conference Mennonite Church at Berne, he withheld his church membership and had no active connection with any Mennonite Church until coming to Scottdale in 1908 when he again wholeheartedly cast his lot with the Mennonite Church and gave it his

unstinted devotion. During the years 1900-1908 he attended first the Missionary Church in Berne, then the German Baptist Church in Cleveland, and finally joined the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church for about one year. However at heart he always remained a Mennonite, and it was his deep interest in the church which brought him back to it when a place was again found for his talents. It was M. S. Steiner of Columbus Grove, Ohio, at that time president of the Mennonite Mission Board, who found him at Birmingham, and having observed his inner spirit, reported to Aaron Loucks, the general manager of the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, "This man is a Mennonite at heart, and we must get him back into the service of the church," and thus opened the way to his return. He never held any church office, but served much as Sunday School teacher, at Elkhart, Berne, Cleveland, Birmingham, and Scottdale. The religious awakening which had a decisive influence on his later life apparently occurred under the influence of J. A. Sprunger at Berne in 1900.

His family life was a happy one. On September 26, 1893, at Elkhart, he married Christine Funck of Neipperg, near Heilbronn, Germany, daughter of Bishop Heinrich Funck and Barbara Baer, and sister of his boyhood friend Daniel Funck. Their children are Elizabeth, wife of Harold S. Bender; Walter, assistant district manager of the Union Switch and Signal Co.; Menno, president of West Virginia Institute of Technology at Montgomery, West Virginia; and Paul, with the Aluminum Company of America. His widow and all of the children survive at this writing.

John Horsch is best known for his outstanding work in the field of Mennonite history by which he won wide recognition in two continents. He was a thorough and painstaking research scholar, capable of the most intensive and sustained effort in the exploitation of original sources, competent in German, Dutch, Latin and Greek, and an able and prolific writer, although he lacked formal advanced training in history. A survey of the almost countless periodical articles in addition to numerous pamphlets and books which flowed from his pen for over fifty years, as presented in the bibliography of his writings published elsewhere in this issue of the *Review,* will serve to disclose the great range and extent of his interest and literary production.

The awakening of John Horsch's historical interest is the result of the intellectual movements in the Mennonite Church in Germany during his youth. His father subscribed to the two German Mennonite periodicals: *Mennonitische Blätter,* published since 1854

in Hamburg and Danzig, and the *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten,* published since 1870 in Reihen (Baden). Both of these journals carried large numbers of historical articles in the 1880's, particularly 1885 and 1886. The first adequate Mennonite history in German had just appeared in 1884 in the form of an extensive book by Anna Brons entitled *Ursprung, Entwicklung, und Schicksale der Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten.* Dr. Ludwig Keller, who was to have such a large influence on Horsch, had begun his publishing of books on Anabaptist history in 1880 with a book on the Münsterites, followed by his biography of Hans Denk in 1882, and was an almost constant contributor to the *Mennonitische Blätter* during these years. Ulrich Hege (1812-1896), the founder and editor of the *Gemeindeblatt,* and a rather remarkable character, was a frequent visitor in the Horsch home and a warm personal friend of the young scholar. He lent books of history to the young man, and was probably the channel of contact with Ludwig Keller whose articles were also appearing in the *Gemeindeblatt* in these years. The not inconsequential library of Horsch's father was also available to him. He knew Christian Neff, the young theological student who was about to enter upon his long career of pastor at the Weierhof (1887-1946), and corresponded with him. Evangelist Jacob Hege (1848-1911), son of Ulrich Hege, trained at the Chrischono Bible Institute at Basel, a prominent leader of the South German Mennonites, was no doubt also an influence.

But the decisive influence on Horsch's interest in Mennonite history was the noted archivist and historian Dr. Ludwig Keller, with whom he came into correspondence in 1885 and continued in close touch for ten years, even after his emigration to America. (See the article by Robert Friedmann in this issue, "Ludwig Keller and John Horsch.") The young man was not only thrilled by Keller's books and articles, but directly influenced by him to dedicate his life to a revival of the ancient Anabaptist principles in the Mennonite brotherhood of his time. Strangely enough Keller did not hold the principle of nonresistance to be essential but rather to be discarded as a handicap, the very principle which drove Horsch out of his homeland to a foreign shore.

It is evident at once that the historical interest of John Horsch was not merely antiquarian, nor one of pure scholarship. He found in Anabaptism the prototype of his own faith, and he sought with all his heart to revive and make effective this faith in his own Mennonite brotherhood and beyond. History was to be an instrument for evangelism in the truest and best sense. Throughout his

life Horsch remained true to this view of the purpose of Mennonite history. It is this frankly propagandistic strain in his writings often with a polemical slant that at times annoyed his readers, and irritated his critics. It led to deviation from purely objective reporting and to occasional unconscious foreshortening of perspective and partisan use of sources. It must be remembered, however, that not only when Horsch began his career but for many years thereafter the ancient perversions of Anabaptist history by its enemies were still dominant and that a vigorous challenge to this historical error was necessary. Much of Horsch's brilliant energy was devoted to the fight to rehabilitate the Anabaptists in the world of scholarship. He lived to see the verdict largely reversed, a reversal to which he made no small contribution.

But the deepest interest and greatest passion of Horsch's life was not history, but the Church, the Mennonite Church. He too strove to help her to attain and maintain the ideal of a church "without spot or wrinkle," wholly devoted to her Lord. Purity of doctrine, purity of life, richness of Christian experience, and aggressive witnessing constituted his ideal for her.

Horsch's early ambition to be a teacher was never fulfilled, but without doubt he found the field for his talents which God intended for him, the scholar's study and the editor's chair. He was not a good speaker, yet his voice was widely heard through his writings, and the influence of his incisive mind and devout scholarship will continue to bear fruit through his writings and his personal contacts long after the last echo of many a louder voice on the public platform has faded away.

One of John Horsch's lasting contributions to historical scholarship was the collection of an unusually rich library on early Anabaptist history. At the age of 17 he was seeking to secure books of Hans Denk, and to the end of his life he sought to assemble the necessary tools to scholarship in a great library. Much of his inheritance from home was devoted to the purchase of books from Germany. During his stay in Elkhart he constantly bought books. The John F. Funk collection was not primarily collected by Bishop Funk but by Horsch. Ultimately most of the Funk collection was purchased by the Scottdale Publishing House and greatly augmented by purchases in Scottdale. The Horsch collection, as it is now called in memory of its creator, is especially rich in early Swiss, German and Dutch Anabaptistica. A careful study of the Catalogue of the collection, prepared by Horsch and published in 1929, and of the final contents of the collection as it was incor-

porated into the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College in 1945 reveals the uniqueness of the collection. Without doubt it has no peer anywhere, not even in Amsterdam, in its special field. Horsch was fortunate in having European connections which kept him informed of opportunities and sent him sale catalogues, and as a consequence many rarities and numerous unica were secured. It was for Horsch a working collection; the many marginal notes, underlinings and indexes of subjects and names on the flyleaves speak of his assiduous use. Numerous notebooks and scrapbooks filled with copious extracts attest his mastery of the contents of the library, and the extensive documentation of his writings with source references likewise proves his thoroughness. The gleaning in the sources which Horsch did will not need to be repeated.

The contribution of John Horsch lies in two fields, historical and theological. Since elsewhere in this issue Dr. Ernst Correll writes of his historical work and Dr. John C. Wenger of his theology, while Dr. Robert Friedmann describes his youthful activity under the influence of Dr. Keller, it remains only to draw the main outlines of his scholarly career and inner spiritual history.

In his early period in America, from twenty to thirty years of age, Horsch had not altogether found himself. He did indeed accomplish much, not only in scholarly growth but in actual published production of historical materials. In these years too a great vision laid hold upon him, which dominated his entire life, a vision of a revived Mennonite brotherhood living after the faith of the great days of the Anabaptist martyr period. With unbounded zeal and optimism he plunged into the task to which he had dedicated himself. During this period (1890) he published his valuable brief history of the Mennonites in German *(Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinden)* as well as his booklet in English, *The Mennonites, their History, Faith, and Practice* (1893), in addition to countless periodical articles. But, soon feeling the need of a more thorough schooling for the better accomplishment of his task, he sought a good English liberal arts education. Lacking guidance and funds, however, he was but partially successful in the attempt and brought his education to no adequate focus or completion. His program of reviving the church through writing was also partially frustrated due to three factors: (1) his lack of intimate knowledge of the American Mennonite church, its leadership, and its problems; (2) his want of a complete and independent mastery of Anabaptist history and theology and the full inner meaning of its program, due partly to the dominance of Dr.

Ludwig Keller's unbalanced interpretation; and (3) the difficulties with Bishop Funk and his editorial staff at Elkhart, including a disappointment with the somewhat legalistic program of the church there.

The net result of the early years was disheartening to the idealistic young scholar and churchman, and he found no other connection by which he could effectively work for his program than that which he reluctantly surrendered at Elkhart. Even though he returned to Elkhart to live after two years of further absence in Illinois and Wisconsin, 1896-98, he found no solution to his fundamental problem. Nor was the connection with J. A. Sprunger at Berne, Cleveland, and Birmingham a solution. Sprunger had no vital connection with any church body, still less with any Mennonite body. Horsch's library was in Funk's hands at Elkhart, and he had no adequate stimulus to creative scholarship, although he did publish during this time his book, *A Short History of Christianity* (1903). He did find with Sprunger and his other associates at this time a refreshing spiritual fellowship, though with a strongly pietistic tinge and emotional fervor, but no appreciation at all for the Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage. His brief aberration into the Baptist Church meant little to him. In relation to his total life program, 1895-1908 was largely a wandering in the desert.

But with the coming to Scottdale in 1908 he found himself again. Here, in the bosom of the old church he found inspiration, challenge, and opportunity. Again he was part of a living church with great traditions from the past and a great future, the largest single body of Mennonites in America, or even in the world. Again he had freedom to write, the resources to develop a library, and a sympathetic audience. In the next thirty-five years he gave himself without reserve to Mennonite historical research and writing producing a series of first rank works: *Menno Simons* (1916); *Infant Baptism,* (1927); *The Principle of Nonresistance as Held by the Mennonite Church, An Historical Survey* (1927); *The Hutterian Brethren: A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty,* 1528-1931, (1931); and his opus magnum, *Mennonites in Europe,* posthumously published in 1942. In addition many historical articles came from his pen in both scholarly and popular journals.

For a number of years, 1917-1926, he was deeply stirred by the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy in America and was drawn away somewhat from his historical studies into a position of semi-participation in this controversy. One fruit of this was the writing of an influential book called *Modern Religious Liberalism,*

an exposé of modernism which became quite popular in fundamentalist circles, going through three editions (1920, 1924, 1938) with a total sale of over 10,000 copies, and being used as a text in several seminaries and Bible institutes. It is a scholarly and thorough work consisting largely of an analysis of the modernist position drawn from the writings of leading American liberal theologians. In this period Horsch also assailed the milder forms of liberalism which had begun to infiltrate into American Mennonite educational circles through a few men trained in liberal seminaries.

As a result of these activities, Horsch won the antipathy of a small circle of Mennonites of a certain predilection, but also the grateful appreciation and support of hundreds of others in all branches of Mennonites in America who came in contact with his writings.

Being convinced about the same time that the Mennonites of American needed a strengthening of their nonresistant position, he also performed valiant spade and propaganda work in this field through publication of booklets and articles, including the book, *Die biblische Lehre von der Wehrlosigkeit* (1920). Just before World War II he entered into a spirited though somewhat indirect controversy with a prominent Mennonite in Germany in the columns of the German language Mennonite church papers in the United States and Canada on the matter of nonresistance. His opponent attempted a subtle propaganda in favor of the German trend of that time, including an endeavor to show that neither the early Christian church nor the early Mennonites were really altogether nonresistant. Horsch's counterattack was a thorough and successful rebuttal of this line on all points and a convincing establishment of the nonresistant position as Biblical, apostolic, Anabaptist, and practical. Horsch's writing on modernism and nonresistance, intended to both awaken the Mennonite Church (and others) and ward off theological and historical enemies, was frequently of necessity polemic and controversial. While he acquired in some quarters the reputation of a controversialist, it must be said that a careful study of his writings will show that he was basically a fair and honorable fighter, although he often irritated his opponents by his penetrating, incisive, fearless, and effective defense of his position and exposure of theirs. The pre-eminent purpose of all his writing was the defense of the faith of the Scriptures.

In the last years of his life Horsch again returned fully to his first and major love, Mennonite historical writing. Having received a commission from the Mennonite General Conference to

write a history of the Mennonite Church, he devoted himself to this task and succeeded in completing in all essentials before the final illness which cut short his career in 1939 the manuscript which he considered the crown of his life's work—*Mennonites in Europe.* Into it he poured all he knew of Mennonite history, both facts and interpretation, particularly of the sixteenth century. It will remain his greatest monument.

A large circle of leaders, and younger men in the Mennonite Church, came under the influence of the writings of Horsch and were molded by them. He commanded a deserved respect when he spoke, for he never spoke without knowledge and thought. And back of all he said was evident a profound devotion to the Church and her Lord which was in itself a powerful influence. The present writer is happy to be among the company of those who have been blessed by the spirit, the life and the thought of John Horsch, and will never cease to be grateful for what they have received. They have caught his vision and are seeking to complete in richer and fuller form what he so valiantly began.

THE LIFE OF JOHN HORSCH IN OUTLINE

Giebelstadt, Bavaria	December 1867-1871	At home
Belchsheim, Bavaria	1871-1884	At home
Würzburg, Bavaria	1884-1886	State Agricultural School
Enroute to America	Dec. 1886-Jan. 1887	
Elkhart, Indiana	A few days in Jan., 1887	
Halstead, Kansas	January-May 1887	Indian Mission School
Elkhart, Indiana	May-August 1887	Mennonite Pub. Co.
Naperville, Illinois	August 1887-March 1888	Union Biblical Institute
Elkhart, Indiana	March 1888-March 1889	Mennonite Pub. Co.
Valparaiso, Indiana	March-August 1889	Valparaiso University
Berea, Ohio	Aug. 1889-Feb. 1891	German Wallace College
Elkhart, Indiana	Mar. 1891-Sept. 1895	Mennonite Pub. Co.
Elkhart, Indiana	Sept. 1895-Sept. 1896	Vigor Food Company
Fulton, Illinois	Sept. 1896-Sept. 1897	N. Illinois College to Dec.
Madison, Wisconsin	Sept. 1897-Nov. 1898	University of Wisconsin
Elkhart, Indiana	Nov. 1898-Sept. 1900	Private Publishing Business
Berne, Indiana	Sept. 1900-Sept. 1902	Light & Hope Pub. Co.
Cleveland, Ohio	Sept. 1902-Sept. 1906	Light & Hope Pub. Co.
Birmingham, Ohio	Sept. 1906-May 1908	Light & Hope Orphanage
Scottdale, Pennsylvania	May 1908-October 1941	Mennonite Pub. House

NOTES ON JOHN HORSCH AS A HISTORIAN

ERNST CORRELL

Students of American culture cannot overlook the leaders and historians in the field of religion whose life, work and inspiration rest in both the Old and the New World. These "men of the liaison" were not always of a spectacular sort. The labor of all of them, however, was characterized by a true sense of piety. They were unexcelled in their zeal toward a high purpose. They built and strengthened many bridges of tradition, inspired their communities, and often created new fellowships of the spirit. Some of them proved courageous men at the outposts when their church and its place in history faced threat and danger. With a perspicacity all of their own, they upheld and defended the Faith of their Fathers.

John Horsch can be seen among these "men of the liaison" and "men of the outposts," perhaps more so when observed from the perspective of future generations. The annals of American cultural history carry many names that have rung through the centuries and will ring with his in the company of men whose ship to America had hoisted the flag of religious idealism, to wit: Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (1692-1748) who joined and developed significantly the Dutch congregations in New Jersey in 1720; Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787) who came in 1742 to plant the Lutheran church more deeply into American soil; John Murray (1741-1815) who came in 1770 and became the founder of American Universalism; Wilhelm Nast (1807-1899) who soon upon his arrival in 1828 began to build and to sponsor the German Methodist Church in America; Philip Schaff (1819-1893) who came in 1844 and combined in superior fashion European Protestant theology, church history, and many strands of related American scholarship.

While these names were selected from the records of various denominations no close parallel was intended. Each of these men (and many more of their type and experience) stand by themselves, but all stood on the common ground of the New World. They had followed or were driven to the realization of a great ideal which they were able to incorporate into the history of their careers. This, their *American* life, work and influence, was ever consciously guarded by their feeling, sense, and especially their respect for, their basic tradition. They were mediators in times of crises, but even more these men of the liaison were, often unconsciously, the real carriers, and transmitters of culture.

John Horsch's role in Anabaptist-Mennonite historiography and, inseparable from it, his fidelity to its faith and practice, bore the mark of his devotion to the old tenets. His ethical orientation followed principally the wisdom in Christian conduct achieved by genuine Anabaptism. The particular and peculiar insistence on foundation and sources, the *fontes rerum anabaptisticarum* which he so keenly defended, characterizes the scholarship of John Horsch and, not any less, his spiritual and intellectual convictions. It cannot be denied that he was simultaneously always an objective *and* a subjective historian—an examining researcher into factual criteria and a concerned confessor and practitioner of faith. There is something in the religious genius and *ethos* of Anabaptism that calls for the affinity of true facts and faith. Its unique place in the history of the Christian church is in many respects caused by its revolutionary insistence upon the sources of biblical faith stripped of all artificial *Beiwerk* and ceremonial decorations. When the historian John Horsch put too much emphasis on some of his arguments, one could trust his Mennonite convictions that he had, at least, put the stress on the right spot. In my own seeking from documentary evidence as good a "life" impression of Anabaptist-Mennonite data as one could get, I always profited from consulting John Horsch for purposes of explanation or re-interpretation. I know that I have had the privilege of sharing this experience with many others in both Europe and America.

* * * * *

Horsch's *Short History of Christianity* was "published by the author," the preface dated "Cleveland, Ohio, June 1903." This was during his editorial association with Rev. J. A. Sprunger's Light and Hope Publishing Company, possibly a year after (or within the year of) the transfer of that enterprise from Berne, Indiana. While the Library of Congress possesses most of the outstanding works by Horsch, his *Short History of Christianity* was not at hand. I was benefited by the permission to inspect a well-worn edition in the Mennonite Historical Collection of the Eastern Mennonite School at Harrisonburg, Virginia.

The *Short History of Christianity* contains over three hundred carefully printed pages, a well organized table of contents, and a statistical appendix covering religious groups in the United States. A thoughtfully prepared index reveals the rich contents of this dignified manual of universal Christian history. Little, however, can be gleaned from it in explanation of its position in Horsch's total historiographical output. References phrased in the simplicity and modesty so characteristic of his manner of speech and style of

writing add scarcely anything by way of information. In the article "Alt-Mennoniten" which he contributed to Volume I of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt a.M. and Weierhof (Palatinate), Germany, 1913, pp. 43-46), in a section dealing with the literary activities of the group Horsch makes a statement that seems to relate to his Christian history handbook: "Im Jahre 1892 wurde die Mennonite Book and Tract Society begründet mit dem Zweck, Traktate und gute Bücher zu verbreiten. 1900 beschloss man eine Kirchengeschichte herauszugeben; 1903 hat dieser Beschluss durch J. Horsch bereits seine Ausführung gefunden." Daniel Kauffman's *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1937), carries this brief entry: *"Short History of Christianity.* A 304 page book, published in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1903. The character and scope of the message is indicated by its title." It should be remembered in this connection, that literary and church historical articles in the *Cyclopedic Dictionary* were often either directly contributed, or had been checked by Horsch. Additional inquiries into the evolution of this book would be welcome. It represents the most universal piece of history from his pen and mirrors the nonconformist point-of-view so rarely found in the general Christian histories of modern times.

The theme of the book reflects the "free church" motif dealt with in the Bender-Friedmann discussion of John Horsch and Ludwig Keller. The argument is given a distinct American slant in those prefatory remarks where Horsch speaks of his History of Christianity as seen "from the standpoint of those who laid the foundation" for the Republic of the West—the "persecuted and often misrepresented independents, whose crime was that they refused to fashion their faith according to the notions of the civil magistrates or of the Roman pope, and who have left us a rich heritage which we are glad to claim." Thus, John Horsch feels genuinely encouraged in his attempt "to present the principal facts of church history from what might be termed an American point of view."

Interestingly suggestive in Horsch's novel approach are these words: "The noted church historians of Europe, as a matter of course, take the view of state churchism, and are, with few exceptions, inclined to look upon Independentism with disfavor. American historians have often, without further investigation, followed in their long-beaten path." He feels convinced that this circumstance is "one of the reasons why the people of our land have found it, apparently, somewhat difficult to get interested in church history." What follows seems to speak right out of John Horsch's heart and mind. It reads like an expression of his own peculiar faith in the

value and significance of church history, to wit: "while even an elementary education would be considered incomplete without a knowledge of the history of our own country, the study of the history of our Lord Jesus Christ has been neglected. Yet, there is every reason to believe that any Christian will be stronger for a knowledge of it . . . ." The same passage also seems to reveal the future critical author of *Modern Religious Liberalism* as he sees in the lack of and deficiency in church history "one of the principal causes why many are led astray by some 'wind of doctrine' that may happen their way." He realizes "that he has been strengthened in his Christian convictions by his study, and hopes that others, also, may find it helpful." The style of the book should "not be found more difficult than that of the books on history generally used in public schools." The *interdenominational* presentation of the topics is to assist in awakening an interest in the church and in the cause of Christ. As he is about to conclude the preface he expresses the desire that his book may "exert an influence in favor of Christian piety."

The mode of periodization used in this compendium puts the history of Christianity into seven well-defined chronological sections. Emphasis is placed throughout on "practical Christian piety" rather than "professedly Christian organizations and movements." He declares the subject of the history of Christianity to be "what Christ during the centuries of the present dispensation has done through the believers who have permitted Him to enter into their lives." Thus, the author gave "only incidental attention to what the enemy has succeeded to do under the cloak of Christianity."

* * * * *

Another rather comprehensive "American" item among Horsch's writings is the essay entitled "Der Anteil der Täufer an der religiösen Entwicklung Nordamerikas." It appeared in the 1909 issue of the *Christlicher Gemeinde Kalender* (pp. 99-113), sponsored by the "Conference of the South-German Mennonites" through A. Hirschler, Kaiserslautern (Palatinate) and J. Hege, Reihen (Baden). This essay assesses the role of Anabaptism in American religious developments. Careful attention is given to the origin and significance of the Anabaptist-Mennonite and other "free-church" groups. Written in rambling fashion in almanac style, it contains a few points sufficiently unique in Horsch's historical outlook to be recorded on this occasion.

Through various quotations and in a special note, Horsch shows how Zwingli's writings hold many neglected sources on the origin of the Anabaptist movement. A number of church history

specialists from different denominational origins are critically examined, e.g., Goebel, Hulshof, Loserth, Uhlhorn, Wolkan, Zur Linden. The American Baptist historian Albert H. Newman's *History of Anti-Pedobaptism* (1897) serves as his authority for Robert Browne, John Smyth, Roger Williams, etc. It is evident that Horsch kept conscientiously abreast with the monographic studies appearing in the period during which the essay originated. They had just then begun to appear in quantity particularly in the European field of Anabaptist research.

This essay gives interesting proof also of Horsch's method of objective tests on the basis of factual sources where "unfortunate schisms" had occurred on the American scene. These splits were in part due to leaders among the American "Old Mennonites" of common Swiss ancestry anxious to impose some of the views of the Doopsgezinden. Outstanding in these respects were Hans Herr's "Reformed Mennonite" movement of 1812 in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; John Holdemann's initiation of the "Church of God in Christ, Mennonite" in 1858 in Wayne County, Ohio, both related to the teaching of the "ban" or rather the practice of "avoidance" and "shunning" of expelled church members. Horsch shows that the originators of these schisms were historically wrong in claiming that their own group had once practiced strictest observance in accordance with Menno Simons' doctrine. Even during the period of persecution and martyrdom their ancestors had disapproved of some of Menno's principles. Horsch traces the 19th century American schisms to "sheer irresponsibility and neglect in the historical study of the congregations." From the point of view of history the new leaders had no claim whatsoever in their endeavor to "restore" "old" foundations and to infer a sort of "infallibility" on the part of Menno.

John Horsch's free, independent standpoint does not lead him to exhibit "devout" attitudes towards any one of the 16th century Anabaptist fathers, but he is nevertheless constantly on guard to correct what he would consider mistaken interpretations of their positions. In the same essay, for instance, he takes occasion to correct the misconception of Menno Simons' conversion which the distinguished Dutch historian Dr. S. Cramer had suggested in the new edition of the *Real-Encyclopaedie für Theologie und Kirche.* From these and other examples one gathers the impression that Horsch insists on a "continuity of inquiry" penetrating into Biblical sources as the sole sustainers of faith and order. This position is taken in the spirit of "freedom of conscience" which principle John Horsch upheld in genuine Anabaptist tradition.

These notes may inadequately express my appreciation of Horsch's influence and inspiration. Future observers will more readily see his bearing on the research and publication program of this *Quarterly* (1927-) and on our *Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History* (1929-). His very first historical work, the *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinden,* Elkhart, Indiana, 1890, suggests this kind of influence. No other Mennonite historian at that time presented such wealth of original sources as he did in the bibliography of this publication: 440 titles of Mennonite publications; 233 by non-Mennonites; and 123 items of Anabaptist manuscripts. These were mainly the Hutterite documents, drawn from Beckh's *Geschichts-bücher* (Vienna, 1883) and from the holdings of the Hutterian Brotherhood then in South Dakota. It was Horsch who discovered for the world of modern scholarship the existence of this brotherhood. He was likewise a pioneer in the United States in the systematic collection of source material as a basis for Anabaptist-Mennonite history with emphasis on 16th century origins. The catalogue which he had prepared and published in 1929 is a distinct landmark in this respect.

The "dominance of Ludwig Keller" during Horsch's initial orientation in the field (so well sketched by Dr. Friedmann) has greatly benefited the acute "source-mindedness" in all the writings of John Horsch.

Personal memories make me recall his frequent reference to Philip Schaff (1819-1893), Swiss-German exegete and historian of Union Theological Seminary, creator of the "American Society of Church History." We may consider him another factor in the shaping of Horsch's style and method of approach. The *Deutscher Kirchenfreund,* Schaff's *Organ für die gemeinsamen Interessen der Amerikanisch-deutschen Kirchen,* (edited by him in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, from 1846-1854) carried discussions on *Mennonitica.* Schaff's scholarly and sympathetic interest was apparent throughout his work. It reflected the spirit of his great Berlin teacher, August Neander (1789-1850), founder of modern church history. It would be interesting to trace the Neander-Schaff-Horsch relationship. Foremost among the specialised libraries which Horsch consulted was one which contained the famous Neander collection. This was the library of the Rochester Theological Seminary (Baptist), now known as the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Horsch's fundamental studies made him a peer among the academicians in Reformation history: A. H. Newman, S. Cramer, J. Loserth, W. Koehler, K. Vos, W. J. Kuehler, R. H. Bainton, L. von Muralt, F. Blanke and others. In the wholesome manner of their controversial arguments, praise and blame would pass among them. Historical positions would assert themselves, as if 16th century disputations were being re-enacted: the "state-church" outlook vs. the steadfastly biblical opposition of the Anabaptist. And, within the Mennonite fold, there would emerge again the issues of Anabaptist factions in their interpretation of life and religion.

THE THEOLOGY OF JOHN HORSCH

JOHN C. WENGER

The equipment which John Horsch brought to his life-work of writing on Anabaptist-Mennonite history and doctrine was excellent. He was reared in the home of a Mennonite elder (bishop) of South Germany, Jacob Horsch of Giebelstadt. He started reading books on Mennonite history as a lad and at the age of seventeen began to carry on correspondence with the noted German historian, Dr. Ludwig Keller. Horsch was also gifted with a keen, discerning mind, and his intellectual strength was matched by a sterling Christian character. With a depth of conviction born of a study of the Scriptures and of a strong historical church consciousness he decided at nineteen years of age to forsake his parental home and his native land rather than participate in compulsory military training. Christianity was for young Horsch not merely a comforting doctrine of justification; it was also a life of committed discipleship. His faith had a strong ethical coloring.

It was to be expected that a pious youth reared in the home of a Christian minister would grow up with a good grasp of Christian truth. Yet for many years Horsch was trying to achieve Christian assurance by living a good life. Shortly before his sixtieth birthday anniversary Horsch reviewed the matter in a personal letter to a Lutheran theologian, Professor John Theodore Mueller of Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri:

> As concerns my doctrinal viewpoint I need not enlarge on the fundamental doctrines of the faith. Let me say that in point of my personal apprehension of the saving truth of the Gospel I was for many years groping in darkness in the attempt to work myself into a condition where I would be worthy of God's grace. I failed to realize my real condition and consequently failed to grasp the Gospel message . . . . Only gradually I obtained light as to my real need and the essential truth of the Gospel.

Eventually John Horsch became deeply conscious of the sufficiency of Christ's atoning death and justifying resurrection. His was no ordinary layman's casual acceptance of a church dogma; it was a deep and satisfying reliance upon the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of his soul. One of the handicaps he had to overcome was the liberal theology he imbibed during his early years in America. He himself stated that "as a young man the reading of modernistic literature had a detrimental effect on my religious thinking but [I] was at last led to see the emptiness and deceptiveness of liberalism." The evangelicalism of John Horsch

was therefore not at an easy traditionalism. He had fought his way back, by God's grace, to an unshaken faith in divine revelation, an acceptance without reservation of the full authority of the Word of God. Once more he had the faith of his fathers, but it was not that of the youth of fifteen who had been baptized at Giebelstadt, Germany. It was the faith of a scholar who had, after a struggle, renounced the autonomy of human thought and knelt humbly before the living oracles of God.

Modernism for John Horsch was no mere intellectual school of thought within the Christian fold. It was a deceptive theology which ruined the faith of its deluded adherents, the most dangerous foe of the true Christian faith. And he was not minded to take a balcony view of the awful struggle in the Christian Church. He determined to dedicate all his powers to exposing the deadly enemy which was stealthily gaining control of the centers of learning in Christendom. In the *Foreword* to his great book on Modernism[1] he stated succinctly:

> The present book was born of the conviction that the modern religious liberalism means the abandonment of the Christian faith. Modernist theology discredits and destroys the foundations of Christianity as Christianity has been known in all ages from the time of its origin. At the same time it discards the true basis for morality. Therefore modernism is the great menace to the Christian Church and to society and the state, though it comes under a religious cloak professing to be a needed improvement on the old faith, and claiming to be called to save the Church from threatening shipwreck. By means of counterfeiting and camouflage it has gained access into not a few professedly orthodox pulpits and churches. In some instances the citadel has been surrendered without a struggle. Many a theological student has been deceived by the orthodox appearance of the more moderate type of modernist theology. Obviously there is need for literature exposing the great menace to the faith in a way that "he who runneth may read" and be enabled to recognize modernism when he meets it.
>
> My aim has been to set forth in plain language the true character, the destructive nature and unreasonableness of the modern religious liberalism in contrast with the evangelical faith, and the imperative need of an attitude of strict non-compromise. I have endeavored, as much as possible, to let the representatives of liberalism speak for themselves, and have cited a few defenders of evangelical orthodoxy. The conflict is one between two irreconcilable religious positions and in such matters it is unquestionably necessary to "call a spade a spade," yet it has been my aim "to speak the truth in love." For setting forth the religious position of modernist authors and institutions I have no apology to offer. If one who is halting between two opinions on these most important questions may find this book a help in making an unreserved decision for the authenticity of God's Word, I shall feel that the book has been worth while.

[1] *Modern Religious Liberalism. The Destructiveness and Irrationality of Modernist Theology,* Scottdale, Pa., 1920; 2nd Edition, 1924; 3rd Edition, 1938.

John Horsch was not only a polemicist for evangelicalism in theology; he was pre-eminently the voice of Anabaptism in the twentieth century. Here again his was not the detached interest of a pure research scholar. Horsch was consciously the evangelist of a message which he was convinced was nothing less than the exposition of God's inspired Word. He regarded his Anabaptist forebears, not as fanatical enthusiasts and recipients of special revelations, but as sober and earnest men of God, determined to follow resolutely in the steps of the apostles of Christ, willing if need be to seal their biblical faith with their lives. With great industry and ingenuity Horsch collected an excellent library of Anabaptistica and painstakingly combed a vast amount of literature including unpublished manuscripts and reports of disputations for every shred of evidence which could be pieced together to vindicate the Scriptural character of original Anabaptism and enhance the present-day presentation of that message by Mennonites. John Horsch undoubtedly did more than any other man to interpret truly the Anabaptist message to twentieth century Christians both within and without the Mennonite brotherhood.

Horsch was a committed disciple of Jesus Christ, convinced that the Mennonite ethic of love and nonresistance was nothing less than the way of life demanded by the spirit and letter of New Testament Christianity. To treat this momentous question of the Christian's relation to warfare he wrote in 1920 a German monograph entitled *Die biblische Lehre von der Wehrlosigkeit,* and in 1927, *The Principle of Nonresistance as Held by the Mennonite Church* (second edition, revised and enlarged, 1939). With true biblical perspective Horsch wrote:

> If participation in warfare were consistent with Christian principles, war could not be so great an evil as it is generally recognized to be. Without question anything one may do that is consistent with true Christianity cannot be an evil. . . . The causes of war are ever present among the nations of the world. It is not within the power of the Christian Church to change the nature of the world and to remove the causes of war. The practical and highly important question is, What is the Christian to do in case of war, when he is bidden to have a part in it? It is an easy way out to say, as some do, that the Sermon on the Mount was not intended for this age. Any one reading this sermon carefully must realize that Christ asked His hearers to make it the rule of their lives and the plain fact remains that war is absolutely and intrinsically contrary to Christian principles. It is the very opposite of what Jesus taught concerning practical Christian duty. If He had never preached the Sermon on the Mount, this would not change the fact of the anti-Christian character of war.[2]

[2] Edition of 1939, p. 65.

It is obvious that this point of view in Christian ethics stands in sharp contrast with the militarism of many "Fundamentalists." On one other point of theology he was in disagreement with modern fundamentalism: like the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century he was not a Chiliast. In a personal letter of September 19, 1931 Horsch set forth with humility and Christian balance his view of eschatology and his attitude toward devout premillennialists:

> As I understand Scripture it does not teach a literal reign though I admit that there are many passages which, if taken without regard to Scripture teaching as a whole, would seem to point in that direction. While I believe the modernist idea that there will be a general development into a golden age, or millennium, to be a serious error, absolutely contrary to Scripture, I could not say this by any means of the premillennial view. Premillennialism in itself has certainly no undesirable consequences. It is indeed a curious idea of the modernists that the rejection of the idea of general world betterment through human resources makes premillennialists inactive. The great mission leaders in the history of the Christian church were premillenarians. Many of the most devoted and consecrated Christians believe in a literal millennium. Certain it is that so long as premillennialists take Scripture literally to the extent that it can possibly be so taken, they will not become modernists. It seems quite impossible that modernists can be found among them.
>
> The premillennial view rather appeals to me and I should of course readily accept it if I understood Scripture to teach it. It is true that none of the reformers of the sixteenth century nor any of our spiritual ancestors taught a literal millennium but this is not the reason why I hold their view. Some of the most enlightened and consecrated Christians do not see alike on this point. Let us hope that we may as brethren stand together as one man in the great fight with the powers of darkness; let us not turn our weapons against each other on the question of the millennium on which Scripture is not so clear as on such all-important points as salvation and a consecrated, holy life.

John Horsch was also a vigorous champion of Christian nonconformity to the world, not in the sense of a blind conformity to tradition nor of a loveless legalism, but in the Scriptural sense of a personal holiness which separates the believer from a sinful world and consecrates him to God. Here again Horsch believed firmly in the right of the brotherhood to furnish guidance to the individual Christian in the interpretation of a Christian principle in a given culture. Like the Anabaptists he insisted absolutely on the right of the church to discipline its members. The church, he insisted, had both the right and the obligation to require a Scriptural manner of life of its members. Horsch held this opinion with conviction while at the same time recognizing the danger of formalism.[3]

[3] Cf. his brochure, *Worldly Conformity in Dress,* Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1926.

John Horsch's basic theological contribution was twofold. First he helped clarify the atmosphere by a thorough exposé of modernism and a reasoned defense of the evangelical view of Scripture. Dr. John Theodore Mueller of Concordia Seminary (Missouri) writes:

Mr. John Horsch was a dear friend of mine, and for years I have used his MODERN RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM . . . . It is a classic which will never become out-of-date. . . .

Mr. Horsch's Christianity is attested by his book. It was his Christian profession that made him write his valuable books. . . . John Horsch was a sincere Christian and a Bible theologian in the truest sense of the term—humble, devout, faithful to God's Word, finding joy and comfort in the blood of Calvary shed for sinners.

The second contribution of John Horsch was to hold before Mennonites the clarity and glory of original Anabaptism and thus help them regain the power which the movement had four centuries ago; also by thus portraying the essence and genius of Anabaptism he helped greatly to vindicate its true character before a world which had once seen its essence but which had by repudiating it preserved only a distorted image of the "Anabaptist Vision."[4]

John Horsch was "a bright and shining light" of Biblical Christianity and loyalty to God's Word in an age of great unbelief and theological relativism.

[4] Cf. Harold S. Bender: "The Anabaptist Vision," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XVIII, 2 (April, 1944), 67-88.

JOHN HORSCH, A PROPONENT OF BIBLICAL NONRESISTANCE

GUY F. HERSHBERGER

John Horsch was an ardent believer in the Christian principle of nonresistance. As a loyal Mennonite he could not conscientiously engage in the military service required of his native German government. This was one of the factors which caused this nineteen-year-old youth to come to the United States. It is not surprising, therefore, that in his series of articles in the *Herold der Wahrheit* there should appear one on "Wehrlosigkeit" as early as May 15, 1888. By July 15, 1892, at least nineteen issues of the *Herold* carried articles on some phase of this subject. Some of these were Biblical interpretations such as that of March 15, 1889, entitled, "Die Waffen unserer Ritterschaft sind nicht fleischlich." Others were systematic treatises on the character of war, the relation of church and state and related subjects. One is entitled, "Der Krieg ein Organisirter Massenmord." Others dealt with "Die Gemeinde Christi und der Staat," "Der Christ und die Obrigkeit," and, "Ueber Eidschwären und Wehrlosigkeit." Horsch's interest in the history and philosophy of pacifism manifested itself early in articles on "Leo N. Tolstoi's Religion," "Adin Ballou und seine Gemeinde," and "Peter Chelcichy's Lehre," all appearing in the year 1891.

In 1913 Horsch published a series of articles on "The Doctrine of Nonresistance" in the *Gospel Herald,* and another in which he discussed "A Popular Objection to Nonresistance." In 1916 after the European war had begun, in a *Gospel Herald* article, "The Principle of Nonresistance Put to Test," Horsch warned Mennonites against working in ammunition factories as inconsistent with their nonresistant faith. In October 1917, after the United States entered the war, Horsch's article "In Sachen der Befreiung vom Militardienst" in the new *Herold der Wahrheit,* explained to Amish readers the status of the conscientious objector under the Selective Service Act, and the procedure which should be followed in meeting the draft.

The general failure of the Mennonites of Europe to maintain the doctrine of nonresistance was a matter of grave concern to Horsch during the days of the World War. Some of his European brethren even denied or questioned whether nonresistance actually was an historic doctrine of the church. It was this problem, no doubt, which inspired the *Gospel Herald* article of January 3, 1918, "When

was the Principle of Nonresistance Made a Part of the Creed of the Mennonite Church?" The most important product of this period, however, was a 128 page book, *Die Biblische Lehre von der Wehrlosigkeit,* published at Scottdale, in 1920, with an explanatory footnote on the title page which says, "In Europa zu beziehen durch J. F. Steinhoff Buchhandlung, Stuttgart." In the foreword, Horsch says it was through his youthful reading of Van Braght's *Martyrs Mirror* and his studies in church history that he came to believe in the incompatibility of military service with Christian principles. In the course of years this belief matured into a conviction. The result is this book treating "eine brennende Frage." It has eleven chapters on the Biblical basis of nonresistance, the history of nonresistance in the Christian church, the Mennonites and nonresistance, the unchristian character of war, the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, and nonresistance in the light of the World War. Horsch shows that the early church was nonresistant, and that even Luther and Zwingli had seen the light on the question, though failing to follow it.

Horsch's critical analysis is at its best in Chapter IX where he treats modern pacifism in the light of Biblical nonresistance. The latter, he says, is based on the Gospel which teaches that righteousness is the fruit of the new birth. Modern pacifism, however, rejects the Biblical principle of nonresistance. For the way of peace which comes as a fruit of regeneration through the Gospel of Christ, pacifism would substitute mere social betterment. It teaches that man is good by nature, and is not in need of regeneration. Consequently stress is placed upon international organization, arbitration, and similar efforts, without the redemptive power of Jesus Christ. Horsch stresses the ineffectiveness of these methods to prevent world wars, and points out how pacifists themselves succumbed when they were actually confronted with the realities of the war. The book was definitely intended for European readers. When Horsch went to Germany in 1922 a stock of his books went with him in the hope that they would be instrumental in reviving the faith and practice of nonresistance among the European Mennonites.

With the development of the new peace movement following the World War, John Horsch continued to write on the theme of pacifism. Beginning with October 28, 1926, the *Gospel Herald* carried a lengthy article in three installments on "The Modern Pacifist Movement Considered in the Light of the Writings of the Early Church Fathers." This article shows that the early church

stood for three definite points on this matter: (1) It rejected all participation in war as contrary to the precept, example, and spirit of Christ. (2) Such public offices as involve a violation of the principle of nonresistance were forbidden. (3) Members of the church were not permitted to sue at a court of law. Horsch points out that a large section of the modern pacifist movement rejects the second and third of these points, while some do not accept even the first.

In Horsch's mind, an evidence of the weakness of modern pacifism was its failure to endure the test of the World War. He cites the case of Shailer Mathews who in October, 1914, was challenging men to take Jesus seriously: "Men tell us that we must fight for our rights. Jesus told us by word and by example that we must die for other people's rights. We thrust the question home. Do men who refuse to order their lives by Jesus' words and conduct really take him seriously?" Then in December, 1917, the same writer in the same journal published an article on conscientious objection in which he declares military service in "this war" to be in accordance with Christian principles. Conscientious objectors, he said, were evading their duty in refusing military service, and were in danger of becoming traitors. It was this weakness, together with the fact that large sections of the pacifist movement failed to accept the fundamental doctrines of evangelical Christianity, which caused Horsch to be apprehensive lest the Mennonite church itself be misled by unscriptural forms of pacifism. He was especially concerned when representatives of the historic peace churches met occasionally during the 1920's to consider what their common task might be, if any; and in October, 1927, he wrote a pointed article on "A few Questions, regarding the 'Conference of Pacifist Churches.' " An article, "Is the World Outgrowing War," appeared in the *Gospel Herald* in February, 1928, in which he challenged the shallow optimism which characterized so much of current thought. The following year the *Gospel Herald* published an extended article in seven installments on "Pacifism in the Light of the Biblical World View." In January, 1931, there was an article on "Gandhi, his Teaching and his Attitude Toward Christianity;" and in September, 1938, an article on "The Principle of Nonresistance Compared with Popular Pacifism." In line with these articles was a rather lengthy review of Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms,* in the *Christian Monitor,* February, 1934.

John Horsch, however, did not confine his writing on the peace theme to a criticism of popular pacifism. The July and October, 1927, issues of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* have

a scholarly article in two installments: "An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Nonresistance." This material, somewhat revised, was published in booklet form in 1927, by the Mennonite Publishing House, under the title, *The Principle of Nonresistance as held by the Mennonite church: An Historical Survey.* The publication of this booklet was sponsored by the Peace Problems Committee of the Mennonite Church and through its influence received a wide circulation. In 1939 a second and enlarged edition appeared. Another helpful booklet on the peace theme by John Horsch was his *Symposium on War* which also appeared in 1927. It is a 44 page treatise, consisting entirely of brief quotations from many writers on various aspects of the war question.

As the second World War approached, John Horsch was nearing the close of his life. It would perhaps not be incorrect to say that the breaking of the war hastened his death, because to see his native Germany once again engaged in war was more than he could bear. From the time that the German forces invaded Holland and Belgium, especially, he was no longer the man that he had formerly been. But even the second World War was not to pass without the appearance of something significant from his versatile pen. In 1940, the Mennonite Publishing House published a 16 page tract entitled, "War and the Christian Conscience." In the years immediately preceding the war he published articles in American and Canadian Mennonite German-language papers in reply to B. H. Unruh, a Mennonite from Germany, who had published certain articles opposing nonresistance. Among these articles of Horsch's were the following: "Die Wehrlosigkeit im erstern Mennonitentum" (*Der Herold,* June 23, 1938); "Kriegsdienst und Evangelium" (*Der Bote,* October 5, 1938); and "Zur Wehrlosigkeitsfrage" (*Der Bote,* November 23, 1938). Thus for more than fifty years did John Horsch use his pen for the cause of Biblical peace and nonresistance, and the defending of the same both against militarism and unscriptural forms of pacifism.

JOHN HORSCH AND LUDWIG KELLER

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

The twenty-six extant letters of Dr. Ludwig Keller to John Horsch, written during the years 1885 to 1893, and published for the first time in the current number of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* represent much more than a mere contribution to the personal biography of John Horsch. They constitute an historical source of first rank shedding new light on an important phase of the recent history of Mennonitism, a set of documents unveiling hitherto little-known activities designed to shape the future course of the Mennonite Church as a whole. In a certain sense these letters are in themselves history. The fact that Horsch brought the first twelve letters of his correspondence with him when he left Germany for America in 1886, and that he carefully preserved the entire collection to the end of his life, is ample proof of his own high esteem for these documents, even though he himself in later times changed his viewpoint regarding the interpretation of Mennonitism.

To understand these letters, a few words should be said about the personality of Ludwig Keller, since his name is unknown in this country except among the few historians of Anabaptism. Dr. Ludwig Keller[1] (1848-1915) began his career as an archivist in the city of Münster in Westphalia (Germany), the very place where the tragic events of the Münster kingdom of 1534-1535 took place which so deeply stirred European Christendom and furnished welcome arguments for an all-out persecution of the nonresistant groups of Anabaptists. In studying the intellectual background of that time, Keller discovered to his great excitement a new world, a spiritual stream of extraordinary vigor flowing almost unnoticed alongside the great Lutheran and Zwinglian reformation movements whose representatives have more recently been called the "spiritual reformers of the sixteenth century" (Rufus M. Jones). Beginning with the great medieval mystics such as Eckhardt, Tauler, and the unnamed author of the *Deutsche Theologie,* it found its great heralds in Johann von Staupitz, Luther's prior in the Augustine convent at Erfurt, Sebastian Franck, the individualistic advocate of the spiritualist Anabaptists, Hans Denck, who for a while himself belonged to the Anabaptists and thus constituted a sort of link

[1] See Christian Neff's article on Ludwig Keller in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 480, with portrait.

between them and the pure mystics, Johannes Bünderlin of Linz, Endtfelder, and many more. Ludwig Keller, himself inclined to this type of spiritual Christianity, was deeply moved by this discovery. Soon he extended the lines of historical connection of this type of "evangelical mysticism," finding forerunners in the medieval Waldenses as well as in the *Gottesfreunde,* and successors in the later Protestant mystics such as Valentin Weigel, Johannes Arndt (17th century), and Matthias Claudius (18th century). Amos Comenius, the outstanding last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren (d. 1692), was also added to this array of spiritual leaders who remained aloof from the Protestant state churches. In the center of Keller's new vision of a "true reformation" of Christianity—and a vision it was—stood the great movement of the evangelical Anabaptists, the true martyrs' church of the Reformation. In this group he rightly recognized the rebirth of the church of the early Christians and of what he called the "Old Evangelical Brotherhoods." Thus Keller found a high ideal worth working for.

Out of a dispassionate scholar grew a deeply devout propagator of a new message.[2] Unfortunately Keller was not thoroughly consistent. He mixed strictly biblical Anabaptists with Protestant mystics into a rather vague conception in which brotherhoods as well as isolated individuals, simple obedience to God's Word and spiritual speculations about this Word, dwelt side by side. None the less, there was a vision and it had dynamic. Numerous thought-provoking research studies, revealing the contents of this hitherto neglected realm of early evangelical movements, came from his study in Münster from 1882 on. In a certain sense these studies made history. Whereas up to that time Anabaptism had been interpreted chiefly through the distorting glasses of official church historiographers with their disparaging concept of "heretical enthusiasm" *(Schwärmerei,* as Luther called it), this was now gradually changed as a result of Keller's labor. It was largely through him and others stirred by him that a fair picture and a full vindication of the Anabaptist movement was achieved.

But Ludwig Keller sought a still broader application of the fruits of his studies. Although not born for a work of missionary

2 In one of the letters to Horsch he confessed frankly, "I myself found this way only by the study of the old literature and history, thanks to the help of God." (Letter of August 21, 1887).

According to Neff (see note 1) Keller got the inspiration by reading a remark in Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* although he also knew that the Swiss Mennonites of his time called themselves *Altevangelische Gemeinde.* Keller used the term for the first time in his book, *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (Leipzig, 1885).

character, he nevertheless sought to be more effective than a mere scholar can be. Desiring to see his religious ideas put into reality, he sought the building up of a "union party on old evangelical foundations" (as he wrote to Horsch, February 8, 1888), be it a brotherhood like the Mennonites or a society or club like the *Comenius Gesellschaft* which he founded in 1892. On April 20, 1887, Keller delivered in Berlin a dynamic address under the title, "Zur Geschichte der Altevangelischen Gemeinden" which outlines the basic ideas of his vision.[3] For nearly a generation this lecture was the inspiring program for many a group and individual. The German Mennonites in particular responded enthusiastically to it, as many articles and discussions in Mennonite periodicals of that time prove. Even the fact that later historical studies made it rather doubtful that such "old evangelical brotherhoods" ever existed,[4] did little harm to the dynamics of the new program.

If we go through the volumes of the German language Mennonite church papers of that time such as the *Mennonitische Blätter* (edited by H. v. d. Smissen and J. Mannhardt), the *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten* (ed. Ulrich Hege), and the *Zionsbote* of Langnau, Switzerland, we are surprised at the unusual echo which Keller found in these pages. Scarcely an issue appeared without at least a brief remark in that line, be it a review of one of Keller's books,[5] or a contribution by Keller himself (quite frequently), or an editorial towards unification as asked for by Keller (as part of his program), or a historical quotation or reprint. The last are

[3] Some of Keller's leading ideas are as follows: Since the first centuries there have always been old evangelical brotherhoods outside the state church, and they knew of each other and continued a spiritual succession. The principles of these groups were: (1) believers' church with voluntary membership of adults, and adult baptism; (2) co-operation between all these groups, functioning more or less as a unity; (3) primitive Christian organization, brotherhood rather than denominational institution; (4) apostolic church discipline, e.g. ban; (5) practicing charity and love (opposition to a mere emotionalism). Mysticism and rationalism were intermixed in Keller's ideas which were primarily directed against the institutionalized churches with their external formalism and paid clergy. A copy of Keller's address is in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

[4] The same is also true with regard to the alleged connection between the Waldenses and the Anabaptists. For a while this theory attracted many an ordinary reader and even some church historians. Several books and doctoral dissertations were written on this subject without producing any positive proof. Horsch discussed the question several times. See also R. Friedmann, "Conception of the Anabaptists," in *Church History,* VII (1940), 341-365, where this question is extensively discussed. However, Keller's conjecture proved to be a stimulus to research. Cf. also the article "Geschichtsschreibung" by Chr. Hege in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, 96ff.

[5] Keller published three major works in this field, namely: *Hans Denck, ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1882); *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (Leipzig, 1885); and *Johann von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1888). To this comes his address, *Zur Geschichte der altevangelischen Gemeinden* (Berlin, 1887).

particularly important as they made available for the first time original sources of the ancient background of contemporary Mennonitism. Above all Hans Denck, but likewise all the other names, known and unknown, of Anabaptists and Spiritualists, seemed promising to a Mennonite church which at that time had lost much of its vision and tradition, and above all of its unity.[6] When J. Mannhardt brought out his new year book in 1888, he adopted this idea that Mennonites were actually a part of this great stream of old evangelical communities, and gave his publication the significant title, *Jahrbuch der Altevangelischen Gemeinden.*[7] P. M. Friesen followed the same line by calling his great history (1911) of the Mennonites in Russia *Die Alt Evangelische Mennonitische Brüderschaft in Russland.* It was quite a stir which had come to the Mennonite church in Germany and beyond through these provocative ideas. In view of later developments, however, one might raise the question whether any genuine revival of the old Anabaptist spirit ensued. As we know by now, this question became a real concern also for Keller, the scholar, who in his first enthusiasm thought he had found in the Mennonite communities of Germany the very soil in which to spread his vision. He later became deeply disappointed, for all this writing seems to have been more literature than life.

[6] The idea of a federation (*Zusammenschluss*) of all Mennonite groups in Germany was enthusiastically welcomed by many alert and responsible church leaders. E. Göbel tells the story of how the overall organization (*Vereinigung*) of the Mennonites of Germany in 1886-1887 came to pass, and how much it was accelerated by Keller's active intervention (*Christlicher Gemeindekalender,* 1897, 15, in an obituary for J. J. Krehbiel). "One cannot overexaggerate the service of Dr. Keller to our church," says Göbel. "Without him our *Vereinigung* would not so soon have become a reality." The same is true, in part at least, regarding the feelings in this country. A letter by Chr. Schowalter, Primrose, Iowa, to John Horsch, December, 1887, discusses at great length Keller's proposals for a Mennonite federation; and Cornelius Jansen, Beatrice, Nebraska, likewise agrees with Keller "out of the depth of his conviction" (*Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten,* 1885, 31). The diversity of American Mennonitism, however, prevented such organic unification time and again. Very instructive are also the remarks of Christian Neff in his obituary for Hinrich van der Smissen in *Christlicher Gemeindekalender* 1929, 84-86, where Keller's influence upon the German Mennonites, their thinking and unification is strongly emphasized. I append here a comment which I owe to Dr. Ernst Correll. In discussing the enthusiasm for Keller in the Germany of that time he writes. "Do not forget that in the 1880's the Wildenbruch controversy was much in the air with its effect on the social and political interpretation of the Mennonites in Germany. The interest taken by the Mennonites in Keller's sympathetic views can be explained at least in part by the Wildenbruch stir." Concerning the latter see Elizabeth Bender's article on Wildenbruch in *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XVIII (1944), 22ff.

[7] Mannhardt, H. G., *Jahrbuch der Altevangelischen oder Taufgesinnten Mennoniten Gemeinden, Danzig,* 1888. In this much read and used yearbook, Mannhardt relates at great length all about Keller and the movements which eventually led to the unification of the Mennonites in Germany in the *Vereinigung der Mennoniten im Deutschen Reich.*

This is then the background against which the Keller-Horsch correspondence must be studied. Its development might be reconstructed in about the following way. In 1885, a letter came to the archivist at Münster from an unknown young Mennonite by the name of Johannes Horsch (later changed into John Horsch), at that time only seventeen years of age. In his home in Gelchsheim near Würzburg the *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten* was regularly read. Keen in mind and deeply interested in history (later also in theology), the young lad may be pictured devouring the new ideas generated by Keller's enthusiasm. He wanted to do something in that direction, and he felt a need for guidance, clarification, instruction, and strengthening of thought. In 1882 Keller's first book had appeared under the title, *Hans Denck, ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer,* and had received a most favorable review in the *Gemeindeblatt.* This must have aroused the young man's zeal, for he wrote Keller a letter inquiring where he could possibly find a copy of Hans Denck's tract *Von der wahren Liebe.* In this way the unusual correspondence between these two men began. There was something of destiny in it. Keller replied at once, apparently very pleased to have found a man willing to let himself be guided in the new direction, and especially a Mennonite. Young Horsch on his part was full of energy and aggressiveness to help stimulate his church toward the new goal, and almost completely adopted Keller's new vision.

Horsch's first activity was a project to make one of those mystical writings to which Keller had pointed, namely the *Deutsche Theologie,* better known among his own people. He did not question whether it had much to do with Anabaptism or not. This publication enterprise (which ended more or less in a failure), fills most of the first part of the correspondence.[8] In it we find Keller and Horsch in general agreement, Keller being the mentor and Horsch the disciple. "You thoroughly meet my convictions," writes Keller, "when you point out that modern Mennonites have removed too far from the ideas of the *Gottesfreunde,* and too close toward Lutheranism. 'Back to the times before 1535' should be our watchword" (September 22, 1886). But how to achieve this? In this particular letter Keller touches the crucial idea of a "mission to the Germans" instead of the usual missions to the primitive races of other continents. Might Horsch by any chance be the providential man for this task?

[8] Eight letters from October 15, 1885 to November 2, 1886.

Young Horsch's conscientious objection to military service drove him away from this possible calling and from his home country as well to the New World on the other shore of the Atlantic. Keller learned this fact too late and was then understandably greatly disappointed. "I should have preferred to have you preserve for us[9] your collaboration in Germany," he writes in the first letter to America (June 12, 1887, about six months after Horsch's arrival here). But then Keller seizes a master idea: what was not possible in Germany might now be realized in America with its much greater opportunities, its greater toleration, and at the same time greater conservation of the older and stricter faith and practice of the Mennonite Church.

What now follows is of utmost interest. It is intriguing to see from the letters how the young Keller disciple in America sets to work, and how the older scholar in Münster in Westphalia tries to hold the reins, invisible of course to the outside world. It is a situation of unexpected dynamic. Young Horsch, now just twenty, felt a calling to act aggressively, even though the message he propagated was, to be sure, not fully comprehended even by himself. Here in America his inborn aggressiveness eventually found a great field while Keller gave him both direction and encouragement. More than once in his letters the European correspondent speaks of "systematic" *(planmässig)* procedure and of tactically advisable steps toward the common great end of bringing the Mennonite church nearer the ideal "old evangelical brotherhood." Both men were full of hope and expectation about the unusual opportunities for the revival of that old genius which now seemed to have its greatest opportunity.

Upon his arrival in America in December, 1886, Horsch went directly to John F. Funk in Elkhart, Indiana, the outstanding Mennonite publisher in America, who at that time was almost at the peak of his activities, and who held a goal similar to that which Horsch had in mind: the awakening of his church and leading her back to the proper foundations. To be sure, Funk was of a different nature from Horsch, no scholar but rather an organizer and practical worker. In a certain sense he was also a typical child of American revivalism of the mid-nineteenth century with its great stress on church activities. The Mennonite church in the nineteenth century had become somewhat stale and had lost sight of its mission. In order to quicken her, Funk worked ceaselessly in many directions.

[9] The "us" in this letter is most significant. Keller spoke here, in a sense, in the name of a not yet existing group or movement of spiritual reformation.

He established (in 1864) an excellent church paper in both English and German *(Herald of Truth,* and *Herold der Wahrheit);* he promoted Sunday schools as well as foreign missions chiefly by his publishing company; he republished Menno Simons' works, again both in German and English, and ventured to publish a new English translation of the *Martyrs' Mirror,* the great epic of the suffering church of the fathers. But in spite of his sensing the need of a "return to the fathers" he lacked a clear-cut spiritual vision. The only book of his own which he published, *The Mennonite Church and Her Accusers* (1878), shows distinctly that he had much more the American background of Mennonitism in mind than the old evangelical genius of Reformation times which he, of course, had not much opportunity to study. In this situation Horsch arrived as a God-send, a young, well-read and energetic assistant to the editor of the German language church paper. A collaboration fruitful for both began. Funk opened in a most generous way the columns of his *Herold der Wahrheit* to the young writer who, on his part, found himself now in a situation of uninhibited activity never dreamed of in the old country. At the beginning neither Funk nor anyone else in the Mennonite Church of America understood the new "policy" or purpose in the articles which now poured forth from Horsch's desk. One must keep in mind that American Protestantism then was in the midst of its great wave of emotionalism with its emphasis on conversion and practical work rather than on mysticism or "suffering obedience." With the issue of June 1, 1887, Horsch began to propagate parts of Keller's program, starting with the publication of excerpts from Tauler's mystical writings and the *Deutsche Theologie,* the book he had so unsuccessfully tried to propagate in Germany.

Horsch was an astonishingly prolific writer, and Funk gave him all the space he wanted. In these years there was scarcely an issue of the *Herold der Wahrheit* which did not contain one or several articles by Horsch; quotations from old mystics, letters from martyrs, historical sketches, biographies, extended excerpts from Keller's various books, and last but not least, theological essays, a field which Horsch entered more and more.[10] It was part of his nature not to be as "diplomatic" as Keller wished him to be.[11] His temperament was rather audacious as can be seen, for instance,

[10] The editorial and literary activity of Horsch is best reflected in the bibliography of his numerous articles collected by Edward Yoder. Without the Keller correspondence it would scarcely have been possible to identify the early items of this bibliography.

[11] See Keller's letter of February 8, 1888.

from his article of December 1, 1887, where he dared to challenge even Menno Simons' authority.[12] A church paper with the emphasis carried by the *Herold der Wahrheit* of the years 1887 to 1892 scarcely existed anywhere else, either in America or in Europe. It read almost like a university extension paper, with essays on historical events or personalities unknown to practically all of the readers. A wealth of highly stimulating documents was published, for instance the most beautiful martyrs' epistles of early Anabaptism which were reprinted from sources otherwise inaccessible to ordinary church people. Hans Denck and Sebastian Franck—two of Keller's favorites—but also Johannes Arndt and Matthias Claudius (both Lutheran mystics) were also copiously represented. It is astonishing to see how the *Herold der Wahrheit* at that time was crowded with material of this type displacing almost all other material of the type usually found in church papers.[13]

Of course, Horsch never expressly declared, "These are your ancestors, and with them you should go back to primitive strictness and to the pure and narrow path." But in perusing these volumes one recognizes readily that here was a man at work with a definite program and a clear aim. In reading Keller's letters of the same time we recognize that the systematic character of this campaign "back to the fathers," was in line with Keller's vision translating it into the world of practical church life. To be sure, we do not know how far these articles actually found response, or how far the congregations and the individual believers grasped the new ideas which were so utterly foreign to them. It is open to question whether they understood them in their proper import beyond their mere devotional value. The church of that time was too much under the impact of revivalism and evangelism, trends so much easier to grasp, and

12 "Nur dann, wenn wir Menno über Christum stellen, können wir die strenge Meidung beobachten. Aber ist denn Menno für uns gekreuzigt worden? Menno war ein treuer Bischof . . . allein er war ein Mensch und konnte fehlen und hat gefehlt." *Herold der Wahrheit,* December 1, 1887, 354 (bottom). In his letter of December 21, 1887, Keller commented on this passage as follows: "You are right: there will be no improvement in the old congregations until they stop seeing in Menno's authority an infallible dogma (*Lehrentscheidung*). It was a very great mistake that the old churches of Christ (*Gemeinden Christi*) began to name themselves after a mortal man. By that they narrowed their horizon and many churches actually got the character of sects, indurated in old habits and externals without a vigorous inner life in the Spirit and Truth." Cf. also the letter of January 13, 1890, and note 21 below.

13 The only paper comparable with the *Harold der Wahrheit* of that time was the little known *Kirche unter dem Kreuz,* published by J. C. Stauffer of Quakertown, Pa., in the years 1885 to 1888. This paper was in no way church-related. It sought only to propagate the history and ideas of the early Anabaptists such as Stauffer had found them in the works of Keller, Mrs. Brons, and Klassen. It is true that John Horsch and Stauffer exchanged letters but their activities as editors are independent, although Stauffer did also use a great deal of the material which the Mennonite papers of Germany presented.

matching so much better the general religious and social situation of the 1890's than did the teachings of the 1520's.

Was it possible to actualize Keller's slogan and to displace the pietistically tinged Mennonitism that had developed since the eighteenth century by a revived old-type Anabaptism? It was truly a crucial question to the church, and in a sense it still is today. More than once Keller complained that except for the *Herold der Wahrheit* (which he naturally liked very much) all the other American Mennonite church papers, such as for instance the *Bundesbote,* had lost more and more their specific Mennonite character and had become what he calls "Methodistic." The *Bundesbote,* however, apparently appealed to a great majority, and one feels the bitterness in Keller's letters over this fact. Somehow he sees the hopelessness of succeeding with his ideas even in America where he had expected to contribute something toward the rebirth of the Mennonite brotherhood. Worse, for a short time even John Horsch himself seemed to have succumbed to these American tendencies when he decided to attend an educational institution of the Evangelical Church. In this case Keller became very unequivocal, writing as follows: "Why do you attend just the institute of the Albrecht people?[14] Among all the branches of Methodism their teaching deviates most from the old evangelical ideas. Every attempt to infiltrate the Mennonite church with this type (of Christianity) will find and must find intense opposition. I myself, although tolerant in general in feeling and thinking, would immediately stop relations with anyone who would accept and advocate this type" (October 4, 1887).

But apart from this interlude, Keller was delighted and read with eager tension every new issue of the *Herold der Wahrheit,* which by that time had become almost an incarnation and herald of Keller's program. Here he witnessed how a man carried into practice (although at first only by writing) what he had dreamed as a far-off vision. It must have seemed to him almost like a victory after so many years of hard work. What he had excavated as a scholar now became real life: the fight of the old-evangelical genius of Anabaptism against any form of pietism and emotionalism. In 1888 the Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart, Indiana,

[14] Jacob Albrecht (1759-1808), founded the "Evangelical Association," a German-speaking branch of Methodism, around 1800. It later became the Evangelical Church, and was strongly pietistic. John Horsch attended their Union Biblical Institute at Naperville, Illinois, during the fall and winter term of 1887/1888. The institute is now called *Evangelical Theological Seminary* (and North Central College), and is still a seminary and college of the Evangelical church.

John Horsch in 1890

published in pamphlet form Hans Denck's tract *Von der wahren Liebe,* without naming the editor. It was not known before discovery of the Keller letters that it was not John F. Funk but John Horsch who edited this booklet, wrote a preface to it, and added Eitelhans Langenmantel's beautiful meditation on the Lord's Prayer written in 1527. There is proof also that this addition goes back to Keller's influence.[15]

This tract, *Von der wahren Liebe,* has its own story which deserves a certain attention in this connection. The present writer holds that in its time it had the character of a program which Hans Denck presented to the much-discussed "Martyrs' Synod" at Augsburg in 1527.[16] It combines a deep biblical interpretation of Christian love (or charity) with mystical and practical teachings. Brief as it is, it is truly a classical work of the spiritual movement mentioned above. However, although read and copied by many an Anabaptist, it never became the real program of any particular Anabaptist group. Hans Denck himself died in the same year, 1527, after having partially recanted his Anabaptist convictions, and no group existed which was ready to follow strictly his semi-mystical teachings of love. It is nevertheless true that many Hutterite manuscript-books contain copies of this tract, and likewise that an unknown publisher brought out an Amsterdam reprint of it in the *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* of 1680. When in the 1880's Keller so to speak rediscovered Hans Denck for a wider public, this small book became central not only for the portrayal of Denck's spiritual personality but also for Keller's own vision of the genius of the "old evangelical brotherhoods" as they allegedly continued through the centuries. This tract was then interpreted and praised as their true gospel, their program, and finest representation. Without doubt it is a noble book of high spirit. Keller came back to it and its genius time and again, and as we have seen this book was the very first cause of the momentous correspondence between Keller and Horsch. No wonder that aggressive young Horsch tried to publish it, one might guess, with the purpose of supplanting his editorial activities in the interest of a quickening of his church. We know little about the success of this enterprise; probably it was but a limited one. Later it was completely forgotten and in no sense shaped future Mennonitism. In a short time Horsch himself

15 See the article by Keller on Langenmantel in the *Gemeinde-Blatt der Mennoniten,* 1885, 35. Horsch was a regular reader of this paper.

16 Concerning this synod compare Hege's article "Märtyrersynode" in the *Menn. Lexikon,* III, 53-56, and R. Friedmann, in Archiv für *Reformationsgeschichte,* XXIX, 1932, 12f.

removed from Denck's position, and in his last book, *Mennonites of Europe,* he expressly declared that Denck was no Anabaptist at all in the sense that he understood Anabaptism now.

In those first years of his American activity, Horsch showed an astonishing breadth of vision, restricting himself by no means to historic Anabaptism alone but including in his program, like Keller, all the spiritual reformers, in a kind of popular generalization. Particularly Sebastian Franck received his sympathetic consideration. This is again a highly significant fact for an understanding of the direction of the Keller-Horsch program. Franck, not unlike Denck shortly before his death, was an independent, highly individualistic fighter for a new and purely spiritual Christianity, who never was willing to join any group. He was decidedly a friend of the Anabaptists, probably their best friend among the contemporaries, but he felt unable to restrict himself to their practical program of a life of obedience to the Word of God and to the narrow path. He remained a "spiritual reformer," that is a man with a semi-mystical interpretation of the work of the Holy Spirit. What he actually had in mind was a free, spiritual Christian church open to every witness of the Spirit and not bound by any new "legalism," as so many of that time misunderstood Anabaptism. Keller's vision was somewhat of the same character, and in this direction he tried to guide young Horsch who at that time (only twenty years of age) quite naturally had not yet matured his own decision. Thus Horsch fervently propagated not only the Keller ideas of the "old evangelical brotherhoods" but also those of the greater communion (or church) of all spiritually reborn who have found the way to the Truth. In his publicistic propaganda of that time, Horsch made no particular distinction between the ideas of the spiritual reformers and mystics and of those of the simple Anabaptists as they were expressed, for instance, in their moving farewell epistles prior to their martyrdom. Neither Funk nor the Mennonite Church at large noticed this fact. On the other hand, neither did they adopt this teaching as a standard for the church reforms then in the making.

Under Keller's stimulating patronage Horsch wrote for the *Herold der Wahrheit* a series of articles on the history of the Anabaptists, by this endeavor also making himself better acquainted with the facts and problems of the great historical background of modern Mennonitism. On Keller's advice he collected these articles and published them as his first book under the title, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinden* (1890) at the age of twenty-

three. It was a good book and exerted some influence in his church and beyond, in spite of some errors and doubtful interpretations.[17] One of the remarkable features of this book is the detailed treatment of the Hutterites whom Horsch had rediscovered, so to speak, in America.[18] One must keep in mind that to Horsch as well as to Keller the Hutterites represented the most genuine type of early Anabaptism, since at that time the records of the Swiss Brethren were almost unknown and unexplored. To a certain extent Horsch's larger book on the Hutterites, published in 1929, is but a continuation of his early appreciation of their significance and function in the history of Anabaptism.

But between 1890 and 1929 lies a long and devious way for Horsch. In 1889 he left Elkhart, to secure a broader education than he then actually possessed. The correspondence with Keller became first sparse and eventually stopped altogether. Keller himself founded, in 1892, the *Comenius Gesellschaft,* a sort of church historical society or club with specific stress on the old evangelical brotherhoods and the spiritual reformers.[19] By this Keller turned somewhat away from his former hopes, being disappointed about the lack of understanding which his ideas had met among the Mennonites. In the last letter of our collection, of September 27, 1893, he wrote to Horsch, "In fact I reap very little appreciation for the things I have done (in the interest of the Mennonite church); God may change it. I often think of the tears which Menno Simons once shed about his brethren." The paths of the two men finally parted completely, although we do not know exactly the details. Horsch entered other social surroundings and for a while succumbed to the influence of American revivalism, which apparently was stronger at the moment than Keller's warnings and Horsch's former enthusiasm for the old way. But he was still a seeker and it is mov-

[17] In his letter of December 28, 1890, Keller acknowledged the receipt of the book and pointed out some errors in it. "Some passages I should have liked to see phrased in a different way. It should also be corrected that Johann von Staupitz was a Waldensian. This can not be proved and is most unlikely although he shared many of their viewpoints." The story behind this first book of Horsch was also not known before the discovery of the Keller letters.

[18] At that time nobody in Europe knew that Hutterite colonies still existed. Joseph v. Beck published the *Geschicht Bücher* in 1883 after a lifetime of research, ignorant of the fact that the original Chronicle was still preserved among the American brethren. Horsch was, as far as can be ascertained, the first one to start a correspondence with the Hutterite Elder Elias Walter, and thus provided a bridge between these brethren and the interested scholars in Europe. He told Keller about the Hutterites, who on his part was very much pleased about this news. The public, however, did not learn about this rediscovery until 1908 when Rudolf Wolkan wrote a first note in a European journal.

[19] Horsch kept a complete file of the *Monatshefte der Comeniusgesellschaft* with its wealth of information, now in the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College.

ing and enlightening as well to witness the struggle of the two tendencies (Anabaptism and Pietism) in the life-history of this man. For a short time he even became a Baptist, although he soon returned to his first loyalty. Meanwhile the Mennonite church under the leadership of J. S. Coffman and J. F. Funk experienced a great renewal and confirmation along new lines.

After many years of experimentation Horsch found his final way, a sort of synthesis of old Anabaptism and general Protestantism as it developed in American Mennonitism (of the so-called "old" church). His series of articles in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1930) entitled "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren" interpreted the Brethren along lines close to the orthodox theology of today. Horsch had become more and more strictly orthodox, and no longer operated under the spell of the "spiritual reformers" of the sixteenth century.[20] His theological interest even somewhat overbalanced his historical interest for a time, and the two together filled his life with research and writing to the end of his days. Particularly after his removal to Scottdale, Pennsylvania, in 1908, did Horsch sensibly change his message. The call "back to the fathers" received now a meaning very different from that of the early years of his activity. While Keller in Europe moved more and more toward a purely "spiritualistic" Christianity of the Comenius or Sebastian Franck type, Horsch abandoned this line altogether in favor of a stricter Anabaptist pattern of "biblical" Christianity as it was once lived and taught by the Swiss Brethren. He became a good conservative Mennonite expounding faith and life in terms of the old faith, but, to be sure, also with some overtones not fully in harmony with the original. The basic Keller program was no longer dominant although Horsch's historical interest remained steadfast, and in this sense true to the erstwhile stimulus.

The antithesis in the genius of the Mennonite church, noted above in connection with Horsch, has continued in the church at large, namely the tension between the pure concept of Anabaptism of old, so much akin to early Christianity, and the concept of a pietistically-tinged modern Mennonitism, not too different from orthodox American Protestantism at large. The Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College through its leaders and its publications have given attention to this issue. The Bender-Correll-Yoder Grebel studies as well as Wenger's Marpeck studies are signs of a renewal of the historical consciousness regarding the ties of

[20] The influence of these spiritual reformers on the later Mennonite Church is rather small. Their writings never became popular reading among the masses.

the present with the great past, an awareness to which Horsch contributed so much. Today, the church stands again on a crossroads similar to that fifty years ago when the Keller-Horsch correspondence took place. Whither is her way? Back to the fathers, or adjustment to an "evangelical" Protestantism of the general American pattern?

Appendix

Excerpts from the Keller letters illustrating the interpretation set forth in the preceding study (Translation by R. Friedmann).

Letter XII of June 12, 1887

I am so glad that you are willing to make your cooperation now available in America insofar as you are ready to work with us on the revival of the old and genuine heritage in the brotherhood.

Letter XIII of August 21, 1887

Above all I heartily welcome your systematic return to the old, fine writings of Tauler and the *Deutsche Theologie.*

Letter XIV of October 4, 1887

I urge you kindly to publish (in the *Herold der Wahrheit* or elsewhere) the letters of Denck, Schiemer, Schlaffer, Langenmantel, Brandhuber.

Letter XVI of February 8, 1888

If the *Herold der Wahrheit* will publish these old letters in a systematic way it will find many new friends and will be able to become the organ of a union party on old-evangelical foundations. If I am allowed to give advice regarding your articles in the *Herold der Wahrheit,* be cautious in discussing the ordinances. One arouses discomfort so easily with it. But the writings of the martyrs are stimulating and important, and nobody feels offended by them. We must not make any wrong step, else all endeavor is in vain.

Letter XVII of July 21, 1888

I am so glad to see with what aggressiveness you pursue the idea of a renewal of your old and venerated brotherhoods by reviving the heritage of their best period.

Letter XIX of November 21, 1888

You should always keep in mind that you will never be able to lead the older and oldest generation along the path which the *Herold der Wahrheit* now is following. But you should be persuaded that a clear and definite goal, such as the return to the best period of the old evangelical Anabaptists (1517[21]-1535), if only firmly and clearly seized and pursued, will eventually

21 This date 1517 is historically misleading. No Anabaptists existed before 1525. Keller's statement can be explained only by his theory of the old evangelical brotherhoods according to which even a man like Johann von Staupitz, Luther's prior in the

without doubt bring you and the *Herold der Wahrheit* many new friends. But, of course, also in these things everything depends on God's help.

Letter XX of June 12, 1889

I have but to acknowledge ever again that the genius of the old Anabaptists which I should like to arouse among your brotherhoods with the help of God comes much more to the fore in the *Herold der Wahrheit* than in the *Bundesbote* and the other papers.

Letter XXI of November 15, 1889

It seems to me the right way that you are now publishing more historical articles. Also your excerpts from Matthias Claudius, Johannes Arndt, and Sebastian Franck, are excellent and opportune for our time. I only wish that the other Mennonite papers would bring similar extracts instead of reporting all the time nothing but about Sunday schools and foreign missions.

Letter XXII of January 13, 1890

It would be highly desirable that the name "old evangelical brotherhoods" (*Altevangelische Gemeinden*) come more and more in use, for many people who would never be willing to call themselves Mennonites would surely be ready to call themselves "Old Evangelicals."[22]

Letter XXIII of August 10, 1890

It is very useful that you publish articles about Sebastian Franck from time to time. That lies much more "on the old path" than the methodistic articles which the *Bundesbote* so frequently brings. I fail to see why the readers of the *Bundesbote* could not just as well be Baptists (except for the oath and nonresistance).

Augustine convent at Erfurt, belonged to this family. Two generations of research since then in the history of ideas have helped to clarify the terms. Scholars like Ernst Tröltsch, Rufus M. Jones, and Johannes Kühn did the most in this line. See also my article in *Church History,* quoted above in note 4.

[22] Here Keller touches one of the most involved questions of all Mennonite study. The Mennonites conceive of themselves not as an open society of inspired Christians, but as a close brotherhood with strict rules of discipline. The missionary zeal of the Mennonites has nothing to do with the question of enlarging their ranks. (See also above note 11). Keller's idea of an evangelical brotherhood is rather opposed to this concept and favors a free association without too great restrictions; in other words, Keller was in spite of everything an individualist.

THE LETTERS OF LUDWIG KELLER TO JOHN HORSCH

1885-1893

Edited by Elizabeth Horsch Bender

The twenty-six letters written by Ludwig Keller to the young John Horsch (born 1867) during the years 1885-1890 (one in 1893) are herewith presented without editorial change in the original German in which they were written. They were transcribed from the originals, now in the archives of the Mennonite Church at Goshen College, by Christine Horsch, the widow of the late John Horsch, and myself. The only transcriptional changes made were: (1) double letters were substituted for the duplicating stroke over the single letter, and (2) a single "s" was substituted for the obsolete "sz" in such words as "deshalb." The originals were all written in black ink on small folded sheets of unlined bond note paper in a neat legible scholarly hand. Because of their importance three typical letters are presented in English translation,—numbers V, XIII, and XXI.

A chronological list of the letters follows. From the comments of the late recipient and the indications in the letters themselves it seems probable that all the letters written by Keller have been preserved. No copy was ever kept of the letters written by Horsch to Keller, although it is clear that at least one and sometimes two letters were written by him for every one received from Keller. An attempt is being made to locate the literary estate of Dr. Keller, who lived until as late as 1915, in the hope that the Horsch letters may yet be found.

The subject matter of the letters relates chiefly to Anabaptist and Mennonite history and literature. Letters III-X have to do largely with the Horsch edition of *Deutsche Theologie*. Seldom do personal affairs enter the correspondence. The two men never met personally; they had no other connection than their common interest in Mennonite history.

In the files left by Horsch two other original letters by Keller were found, both addressed to the Hutterites in South Dakota (September 21 and December 20, 1889) in response to an initial letter from them of July 22, 1889. They relate to the possible publication by the Hutterites of the Beck transcripts of Hutterite codices in European libraries. They must have been sent to Horsch by the Hutterites, since he was without doubt the liaison between them and Keller.

Chronological List of the Keller Letters

A. *To Horsch in Europe*

I	May 15, 1885	VII	October 10, 1886
II	July 16, 1885	VIII	October 14, 1886
III	October 15, 1885	IX	October 21, 1886
IV	July 29, 1886	X	November 2, 1886
V	September 22, 1886	XI	December 24, 1886
VI	September 30, 1886		

B. *To Horsch in America*

XII	June 12, 1887	XX	June 12, 1889
XIII	August 21, 1887	XXI	November 15, 1889
XIV	October 4, 1887	XXII	January 13, 1890
XV	December 21, 1887	XXIII	August 10, 1890
XVI	February 8, 1888	XXIV	September 17, 1890
XVII	July 21, 1888	XXV	December 28, 1890
XVIII	November 18, 1888	XXVI	September 27, 1893
XIX	November 21, 1888		

I

Münster, am 15. Mai 1885

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

In Ihrem gefälligen Schreiben vom 10 d.M. bitten Sie mich um Auskunft, wo Dencks oder Langenmantels Schriften zu haben seien. Ich könnte Ihnen darauf hin eine ganze Anzahl von Bibliotheken namhaft machen, bezweifle aber, ob diese sich entschliessen würden, ihre Exemplare einem Privatmann ohne weiteres auszuhändigen.

Ich habe mich deshalb entschlossen, Ihnen eine Abschrift, die ich mir selbst angefertigt habe, von Dencks Büchlein "Von der wahren Liebe" zum Gebrauch auf 6—8 Wochen zuzusenden. Ich bitte Sie, die Abschrift recht sorgfältig zu behandeln.

Die Schrift "Von der wahren Liebe" ist eine der wichtigsten Schriften Dencks und besitzt für die Geschichte der altevangelischen Gemeinden eine ganz besondere Bedeutung. Damit Sie Gelegenheit haben, sich darüber zu orientiren lege ich mein Buch: "Die Reformation" u.s.w. bei, worin Sie über diese Schrift auf S. 429 Näheres finden. In meinem Buch über Denck (welches ich gleichfalls leihweise beilege) habe ich S. 202 ff. einen Auszug aus der Schrift gegeben, welchen Sie vielleicht lesen können, um sich in das Verständnis des Originals einzuarbeiten. Denn Denck ist nur dann zu verstehen, wenn man seine Bücher mehr als einmal liest; auch ist die Sprache nicht ganz leicht.

Ich hoffe, dasz die schweren Zeiten, welche Ihre Gemeinschaft seit zwei Jahrhunderten durchlebt hat, einem neuen Aufschwung Platz machen werden; es herrscht schon jetzt eine grosze Bewegung in vielen Gemeinden und es ist Hoffnung vorhanden, dasz die seit langer Zeit zerstörte *Gesammt-Verfassung* durch Einberufung einer General-Conferenz wieder aufgebaut werden wird. Die Seminar-Frage bildet nur einen einzelnen und keineswegs den wichtigsten Punkt in diesen Bestrebungen; ich hoffe, dasz diejenigen Gemeinden, welche sich nicht entschliessen können, das Seminar zu unterstützen, doch dem projektirten Verein beitreten werden und dasz die jetzt zerstreuten Gemeinden durch eine Zusammenfassung ihrer Kräfte wieder aktionsfähig werden.

Um dies grosze und wichtige Ziel zu erreichen bedarf es freilich groszer Hingabe und Opfer seitens eines jeden Einzelnen. Aber ich denke, dasz, wenn die heutigen Mennoniten sich erinnern, mit welchen Opfern an Leib und Leben, an Hab und Gut ihre Vorfahren einst für ihren Glauben gekämpft haben, auch jetzt der alte Zeugengeist sich wieder beleben wird und dasz Jedermann auf seinem Posten seine ganze Kraft einsetzen wird, um für die Erneuerung der Gemeinschaft im Geiste Christi und der Apostel mit Gottes Hülfe das Seinige beizutragen.

Die im Mai d.J. an verschiedenen Orten tagenden Conferenzen werden bereits zeigen, ob die Bewegung auch in Süddeutschland Fusz zu fassen anfängt.

Mit herzlichem Grusz,
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

II

Münster, am 16. Juli 1885

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Sie haben mir durch das Geschenk der Bücher eine besondere Freude gemacht, und ich will nicht unterlassen, Ihnen dafür bestens zu danken. Namentlich war mir das Christliche Glaubensbekenntnisz aus 1702 interessant, wichtiger aber noch ist das "Christl. Lehrbüchlein" Heilbronn 1878 durch seinen Inhalt. Es wird Ihnen nämlich auch wohl schon aufgefallen sein, dasz der Katechismus der sog. "Waldenser" aus dem 15. Jahrh., den ich in meinem Buch "Die Reformation" u.s.w. S. 307ff. besprochen habe — ich bitte Sie, die Stelle nachzulesen — in seiner ganzen Anlage und Eintheilung wie in seinem Inhalt (drei Haupttheile: Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung u.s.w.) mit der Eintheilung des "Christlichen Lehrbüchleins" auffallend übereinstimmt.

Es wäre nun sehr wichtig, zu wissen, ob in den süddeutschen oder schweizerischen Gemeinden *ältere* Katechismen aus dem vorigen oder früheren Jahrhunderten existirten, auf Grund deren das Christl. Lehrbüchlein bearbeitet worden ist.

Ich bitte Sie freundlich darum, nach solchen *alten* Katechismen bei Ihren Brüdern und Freunden zu fragen und wenn Sie mir einen solchen verschaffen könnten (wenn auch nur *leihweise*) so wäre ich sehr dankbar dafür. Je älter er ist, um so besser ist es.

Meine Gegner bestreiten nämlich, dasz die Waldenser mit den heutigen altevangelischen Gemeinden, die man Mennoniten nennt, etwas zu thun haben. Das ist aber gewisz nicht richtig.

Helfen Sie mir, dasz die Wahrheit an den Tag kommt.

Vielleicht werde ich einmal im "Gemeindeblatt" öffentlich nach alten Katechismen fragen.

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

In Eile!

III

Münster, am 15. October 1885

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Ihren Brief vom 11. Sept. würde ich schon längst beantwortet haben, wenn ich nicht mehrere Wochen verreist gewesen wäre.

Ihren Gedanken, die Predigten Taulers in Ihren Gemeinden von Neuem möglichst zu verbreiten, billige ich durchaus. Ja, ich glaube dasz

es gegenwärtig sehr wünschenswerth wäre, wenn die ganze Literatur des 14. Jahrh., soweit sie im Geiste Taulers gehalten ist wieder an das Tageslicht gezogen würde. Deshalb habe ich es auch warm begrüszt, dasz die "Menn. Blätter" Auszüge aus der "Deutschen Theologie" geben.

Leider sind aber die gegenwärtig vorhandenen Ausgaben Taulers (zuletzt ist eine solche im J. 1864 zu Frankfurt a.M. bei Hamberg zum Preis von M. 7.80 heraus gekommen) alle in katholischem oder lutherischem Sinn überarbeitet; um den wahren Tauler zu gewinnen wäre ein Abdruck der höchst seltenen Handschriften des 14. und 15. Jahrh. nöthig.

Ich kann Ihnen einstweilen nicht dazu rathen, die neueren Ausgaben von Tauler abzuschreiben (es sind zwei starke Bände); besser wäre es, wenn Sie einen billigen Neudruck der "Deutschen Theologie" oder zunächst wenigstens eine genaue Abschrift davon herstellen wollten. Ich bin bereit, Ihnen eine Ausgabe der kleinen Schrift zu senden. Bleiben Sie aber bei Tauler, so kann ich Ihnen auch von diesem eine Ausgabe mittheilen. Schreiben Sie mir, bitte, Ihre Entschlieszungen.

Ich hoffe, dasz die Mittel zur Erneuerung der alten groszen Literatur gewonnen werden, sobald der projektirte Verein zu stande kommt der auch den systematischen Vertrieb übernehmen könnte.

Zu meiner Freude gestalten sich die Aussichten für das Zustandekommen immer günstiger, da auf allen Seiten ein friedfertiger, brüderlicher Geist sich mehr und mehr Bahn zu brechen scheint. In Crefeld allein sind, wie ich gestern erfahren habe, für die Zwecke des Vereins 17000 M. an Kapital Schenkungen gezeichnet worden.

Mein Wunsch ist, dasz die Mittel der Stadtgemeinden flüssig gemacht werden, um die so vielfach zerstreut wohnenden Mennoniten durch Reiseprediger geistlich versorgen zu können. Wenn die Stadtgemeinden die finanziellen Mittel und einen opferwilligen Sinn mit in den Verein bringen, so hoffe ich, dasz die Landgemeinden mit der religiösen Wärme, die sich gerade hier vielfach noch erhalten hat, einen heilsamen Faktor mit in den Verein hinein tragen. *Beide Teile müssen sich gegenseitig ergänzen* und sie werden es thun, wenn sie klug sind. Einstweilen sagen freilich die Städter, wir sehen wohl, dasz das Land gläubig und fromm ist, aber wir sehen nicht, dasz sie für ihren Glauben auch zu Geldopfern bereit und fähig sind, wie wir es durch die That bewiesen haben und beweisen werden; ein rechter Glaube zeigt sich durch die Tat.

Hoffentlich kommt trotz aller Vorurteile, die ja nach so langer Trennung natürlich sind, der Verein zu stande; er ist in der That das einzige Mittel, um die Gedanken, für welche die alten Märtyrer in den Tod gegangen sind, auch für die Kinder und Enkel zu erhalten. Denn wie heute die Dinge liegen gehen die deutschen Gemeinden durch fortwährende Verluste einem gänzlichen Zerfall entgegen. Mit freundlichem Grusz

Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

IV

Münster, am 29. Juli, 1886

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Für Ihre freundlichen Zeilen sowie für die darin enthaltene Einladung danke ich Ihnen bestens. Einstweilen kann ich der letzteren nicht Folge geben, sollten mich meine Reisen indessen in einem der nächsten Jahre etwa in Ihre Gegend führen, so werde ich gern die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen, Sie und die süddeutschen Mennoniten einmal kennen zu lernen. Im übrigen aber erwidere ich Ihre freundliche Einladung ebenso, wie Sie sie ausgegeben haben. Nachdem nun schon eine gröszere Anzahl Men-

noniten aus allen Theilen Deutschlands, aus der Pfalz, aus Westpreuszen, aus Ostfriesland, aus Neuwied, aus Crefeld, aus Hamburg-Altona und auch aus Holland (aus Enschede, Almelo, Zwolle, u.s.w.) persönlich bei mir gewesen sind, möchte ich auch gerne einmal einen aus Baden oder Baiern hier sehen. Jedenfalls hoffe ich, wenn Gott mir das Leben erhält, mit Ihnen oder anderen Herrn aus Ihrer Gesammtgemeinde früher oder später einmal an einem dritten Orte, etwa am Rhein zusammenzutreffen. Ich gehe nämlich mit dem Gedanken um, dasz zum Zweck der Vorberathung über eine grosze *allgemeine* Zusammenkunft in Berlin, im Laufe des nächsten oder des übernächsten Jahres einmal eine vertrauliche Besprechung von amerikanischen, holländischen, schweizerischen und deutschen Mennoniten etwa in Straszburg stattfinden müszte. Morgen reise ich von hier nach Amsterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, Rotterdam und in andere holländische Städte und werde dort mit vielen Mennoniten zusammenkommen und auch über diesen Plan mit ihnen Rücksprache nehmen. Ich hoffe, dasz eine neue Zeit mit Gottes Hülfe für die altevangelischen Gemeinden kommen wird, wenn nur die Eintracht erhalten bleibt und alle mit Gebet und gutem Willen das grosze Ziel der Wiederaufrichtung im Auge behalten.

Ich habe mich über Ihren Entschlusz, die "Deutsche Theologie" von Neuem drucken zu lassen sehr gefreut und ich zweifle nicht, dasz Sie dafür viele Freunde finden und viel Gutes stiften werden. In dem Geist der altdeutschen Theologie und der Gottesfreunde musz die Erneuerung der alten Gemeinden erfolgen.

Es wird gut sein, wenn Sie die Vorreden von Luther und Arndt dazu geben; auch sollten die "Hauptreden" Dencks nicht fehlen. Ich schicke Ihnen deshalb eine Abschrift und bitte Sie, den schönen Schlusz zuerst zu lesen. Es sollte aber nichts dazu gethan werden, auch keine Vorrede von mir. Berathen Sie mit Herrn U. Hege über den Druck und die Verbreitung. Sie thun am besten, das Büchlein aus Pfeiffer direkt abdrucken zu lassen, d.h. aus der Verdollmetschung Pfeiffers, aber ohne Streichungen.

Ich habe dahin gewirkt, dasz die neue Vereinigung die Förderung der *Reisepredigt* zu einer ihrer ersten Aufgaben macht. Manche sind auch dafür; tritt die badische Gesammtgemeinde ein, so könnte dieser Plan im J. 1887 (wo die nächste Versammlung stattfindet) in Berlin leicht durchgesetzt werden.

Soll ich Ihnen ein Exemplar meines letzten Buches schicken? Ich bin gerne bereit dazu, wenn Sie es noch nicht besitzen.

Indem ich zu Rath und That stets bereit bin, bin ich

Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

Ich bitte, diesen Brief *nicht drucken* zu lassen.

V

Münster, am 22. Sept. 1886

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Ihr freundlicher Brief vom 4. Aug., für den ich Ihnen bestens danke, traf mich auf der Reise. Sonst würde ich Ihnen schon früher darauf geantwortet haben.

Es freut mich von Herzen, dasz Sie in Sachen der "Deutschen Theologie" so thatkräftig vorgegangen sind und ich bitte Gott, dasz er Ihren Entschlusz segnen möge. Was ich zur Verbreitung der kleinen Schrift (z. B. durch Empfehlung in den Blättern) beitragen kann, soll geschehen, denn ich wünsche mit Ihnen, dasz diese Ideen wieder mehr Gemeingut werden. Sie haben ganz meine Ueberzeugung getroffen, wenn Sie sagen, dasz die heutigen Mennoniten sich zu weit von den Ideen der Gottesfreunde

entfernt und zu sehr dem Lutherthum angenähert haben. Darin liegt auch der Schlüssel für die oft betonte und in Ihren Kreisen oft beklagte Erscheinung, dasz das Mennonitenthum seit einem Jahrhundert und länger keine neuen Reiser treibt und keine selbständige innere Kraft zur Ausbreitung mehr an den Tag gelegt hat. Wollen oder können die Mennoniten nichts anderes sein, als eine leichte Abart des Lutherthums, das von diesem sich etwa nur durch die Spättaufe und den Eid unterscheidet, so dürfen sie sich nicht wundern, wenn allmählich einer nach dem anderen sich der groszen Kirche selbst anschlieszt. So ist es denn auch thatsächlich gewesen. Ich freue mich übrigens, gegenwärtig an vielen Orten das Bestreben wahrzunehman, dasz man sich in den Kreisen der Mennoniten wiederum auf diejenigen Zeiten besinnen möchte, in welchen die alten Gemeinden ihre gröszte Triebkraft bewiesen haben. Mir schrieb neulich einer der angesehensten Prediger in Norddeutschland: "Zurück zu den Zeiten bis 1535 musz unsere Losung sein" und das ist auch meine Ueberzeugung und ich glaube, auch Herr U. Hege ist damit einverstanden.

Sie haben ganz recht, dasz der beste Weg, um dorthin zu gelangen, die Erneuerung der alten Literatur ist. Ich glaube nun aber nicht, dasz es zweckmäszig wäre, nach der "Deutschen Theologie" die Nachfolgung des armen "Lebens Christi" oder "Das Buch von der geistlichen Armuth" (wie die Nachfolge auch heiszt) zu geben, wie Sie vorschlagen. Wer will das Buch auch übersetzen? Auch stammt dasselbe nicht sowohl aus den Kreisen der Gottesfreunde als denen der Franziscaner und andere Gründe kommen dazu. Ich schlage Ihnen vielmehr vor, die Schrift des Joh. von Staupitz "Von der wahren Liebe" oder die "Von dem h. rechten Christl. Glauben" (vergl. Keller Waldenser S. 29) ins Auge zu fassen. Wir können ja die Sache noch überlegen, da zunächst abgewartet werden musz, ob sich für die Deutsche Theologie Freunde finden, was vielleicht nur langsam geschehen wird, da der lutherische Confessionalismus immer stärker wird. Denken Sie nicht an eine Übersetzung der Historie von Taulers Bekehrung? Auch einzelne Predigten Taulers eignen sich sehr zur Massenverbreitung. Später müszte auch manches von Eckhart und Denck hinzu kommen. Ich sende Ihnen heute eine Abschrift von der "Ordnung Gottes," die Sie gewisz interessiren wird, ich bitte Sie, gelentlich etwas daraus in dem Gem-Blatt drucken su lassen.

Die beikommende Notiz über Dencks Ansicht von der Gottheit Christi bitte ich nach Kenntnisznahme ebenfalls an H. U. Hege zu schicken.

Sie haben ganz recht, wenn Sie sagen: Wenn wir doch nur ein Prediger-Seminar hätten, dasz unsere Prediger nicht auf anderen Anstalten ihre Ausbildung erhalten müszten! Darnach streben auch die Norddeutschen und Pfälzer Gemeinden. Aber ebenso wichtig halte ich die Beförderung der Reisepredigt, die gleichsam *Missionare* in Deutschland werden müszten.

Es ist mir überhaupt unbegreiflich, dasz die Idee einer *"Deutschen Mission"* noch nirgends ausgesprochen worden ist. Es ist zwar die heilige Pflicht jeder Gemeinschaft Mission zu treiben, aber es ist doch ganz unrichtig, den Begriff des Wortes "Mission" so eng zu fassen, dasz man darunter nur die Mission unter den Negern und Indianern versteht. Es ist in unserer nächsten Nähe so nothwendig, für die Bekehrung der Menschen zu Gott zu arbeiten, dasz ich auch immer gefragt habe, warum eine Gemeinschaft, die zu ihrem eigenen Aufbau und zur Erweckung Anderer soviel tun könnte, ihre finanziellen Kräfte in der Bekehrung von holländischen Unterthanen auf Java verwendet und erschöpft? Und nun gerade der *holländischen* Indianer und Neger; warum denn nicht wenigstens deutscher Neger oder Heiden. Ich sehe nicht, dasz die Holländer für deutsche Zwecke Geld zu geben geneigt sind, dagegen sehe ich, dasz die deutschen Gemeinden fast

die *Hälfte* der Kosten tragen, welche die taufgesinnte Mission erfordert, obwohl sie vielleicht kaum den zehnten Theil des Vermögens besitzen welches die Holländer haben.

Man sollte eine Kasse für "deutsche Mission" und Reisepredigt schaffen, und die 6000 bis 7000 Mark, welche jetzt jährlich nach Java wandern, für die Festigung der alten Gemeinden im Mutterlande verwenden. Das wäre ein gottwohlgefälliges, segenreiches und vielversprechendes Werk.

Die Waldenser in Italien denken nicht daran, Neger zu bekehren, sondern sie bekehren ihre Landsleute; warum wollen die Mennoniten hier das Beispiel der Lutheraner und nicht vielmehr das der Waldenser befolgen? Später kann ja die Mission unter den Heiden umso kräftiger wieder aufgenommen werden. Aber erst müssen doch die Fundamente im eigenen Hause feststehen.

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ludwig Keller

Nachschrift

Sie besitzen wohl nicht zufällig ein Exemplar des Formularbuchs, welches im Jahr 1807 bei J. T. Taupt auf Grund der Beschlüsse der groszen Ibersheimer Versammlungen von 1803 u. 1805 gedruckt ist?

Ich suche noch eine Ausgabe des "Ausbundes." Sie waren einmal so gütig, mir eine solche anzubieten; wenn es Ihnen möglich ist, sie zu erhalten, so würde ich dankbar sein und mich auch gern zu Gegendiensten erbieten.

Giebt es bei Ihnen gar keine Testamente, welche eine andere Übersetzung als die lutherische darbieten? Die Sache ist sehr wichtig; denn die Rückkehr zur alten Waldenser-Bibel musz für die Zukunft im Auge behalten werden.

VI

Münster, am 30. Sept. 1886

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Freundlichen Dank für Ihren Brief. Ich bitte Sie, den Druck, wenn er bereits begonnen hat, sofort einstellen zu lassen. Die Weigerung von Herrn Bertelsmann hindert die Drucklegung *unbedingt;* ich habe soeben mit einem Sachverständigen darüber Rücksprache genommen. Es ist mir sehr leid, dasz ich Sie nicht sofort auf dies Hindernisz habe aufmerksam machen können; aber ich gestehe aufrichtig, dasz mir der betr. Paragraph des Gesetzbuches nicht gegenwärtig war.

Schreiben Sie mir doch, ob und welchen Schaden Sie etwa erleiden. Die Sache selbst musz deshalb nicht aufgegeben werden; es handelt sich nur darum, eine *neue* Übersetzung (doch unter Beachtung der Vorarbeiter, was erlaubt ist) anzufertigen und dafür wird sich Rath finden. Ich werde Sie in dieser Sache nicht im Stich lassen.

Ich möchte diesen Brief sofort abschicken und verschiebe alles Weitere auf später. Ihr Brief ist angekommen und danke ich bestens dafür.

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller.

VII

Münster, am 10. October 1886.

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Besten Dank für Ihren Brief vom 4. October.

Es ist durchaus kein Grund vorhanden, in dieser Sache die Flinte in das Korn zu werfen. Herr Bertelsmann wird, wie ich glaube, seine Einwilligung geben, wenn man weiter mit ihm verhandelt.

Der Nachtheil, welcher ihm durch Ihren Neudruck in Bezug auf den Absatz von Pfeiffers Buch erwächst, ist natürlich nur sehr gering.

Wollen Sie, was doch zunächst im Auge zu behalten wäre, an dem *Verkauf* des Neudrucks festhalten, so würde ich rathen, dasz Sie Herrn B. fragen, welche Entschädigung er fordern müsse, um seine Rechte an Sie abzutreten.

Ich schrieb Ihnen schon, dasz ich entschlossen sei, falls Ihr Unternehmen scheitert, für eine Edition des Buchs unter allen Umständen zu sorgen.

Ich werde dies in der Form des beiliegenden Briefs H. Bertelsmann mittheilen. Die Wirkung dieses Briefes wird die sein, dasz er mäszige Forderungen in Bezug auf die Entschädigung zu stellen gezwungen ist.

Ihre Anfrage müszte natürlich nach meinem Brief erfolgen.

Wenn H. Bertelsmann gleichwohl hohe Entschädigungs-Ansprüche erhebt, so bleibt immer noch die Möglichkeit, dasz Sie ihm schreiben, Ihr Wunsch sei es, die Schrift "als Manuscript" erscheinen zu lassen, d. h. sie nur zur Gratis-Vertheilung zu verwenden; ob er dies gestatte und eventuell unter welchen Bedingungen. Dies wird er sicher genehmigen.

Am wahrscheinlichsten ist es, dasz H. Bertelsmann, sobald er meinen und Ihren Brief besitzt, Ihnen vorschlagen wird, Ihre in Druck befindliche Übersetzung als seinen Verlags-Artikel zu übernehmen; dies können Sie natürlich nur gegen vollen Ersatz der Druckkosten acceptiren.

Sie sehen, dasz sich eine Reihe von Möglichkeiten darbieten. Ich bitte Sie nun zunächst um Ihre Rückäuszerung und um Rücksendung der Einlage.

Es ist mir ganz recht, wenn Sie meinen vorletzten Brief an H. Hege schicken und mit ihm vertraulich über die "Deutsche Mission" sprechen. Auch im Norden sind viele sehr für diesen Gedanken. Er musz aber zunächst vertraulich erörtert werden.

Je älter die Ausgabe des Ausbund ist, um so lieber ist es mir.

Mit freundlichem Grusz,

Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

Besitzen Sie Beziehungen zu Herrn S. Bähler in Langnau? (Hrsg. d. Zionspilgers)

VIII

Münster, am 14. October 1886

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Besten Dank für Ihre beiden letzten Briefe. Fr. Pfeiffer ist erst 1868 gestorben. Was die Zustimmung der Erben anbetrifft so wird es für Herrn Bertelsmann, sobald er will, ein leichtes sein, deren Zustimmung einzuholen. Der Verlust, der ihm durch eine Wiederholung der Pfeifferschen Übersetzung erwächst, ist so unbedeutend, dasz seine Ablehnung eine grosze Unfreundlichkeit einschlieszt.

Den Ihnen übersandten Entwurf habe ich an verschiedenen Stellen derart geändert, dasz er in jeder Richtung meinen thatsächlichen Absichten entspricht und völlig auf Wahrheit beruht.

Falls H. Bertelsmann Ihnen von meinem Brief Kenntnisz giebt, bitte ich, dasz Sie sich weiter mit mir in Beziehung setzen. Da ich ja ausdrücklich erkläre, dasz ich für eine Übersetzung zu mäszigem Preis *"sorgen"* will, so kann ich sofort zu Gunsten dessen zurücktreten (und *werde* zurücktreten) der die Übersetzung herausgiebt. Mein einziger Wunsch ist, dasz eine solche da ist. Ich bitte, dasz Sie Ihren Brief nicht eher absenden als bis ich Ihnen die Antwort von H. Bertelsmann mitgetheilt habe.

Sollte H. B. alle Verhandlungen ablehnen, so bleibt noch die Möglichkeit, dasz die hergestellten Bogen (falls der Satz noch steht) als *Correkturbogen* benutzt u. überarbeitet werden. Sobald die Übersetzung in wesentlichen Theilen eine *neue* ist, so hat H. B. keinen Einspruch mehr zu erheben. Bei dieser Correktur bin ich bereit zu helfen.

Wie steht denn der Druck überhaupt? Wieviel Bogen sind gesetzt und wieviel sind abgezogen? Oder ist alles schon fertig? Darauf kommt doch viel an, und es ist wichtig, dasz Sie genau informirt sind.

Für die Mühe, die Sie sich wegen des Ausbunds geben, danke ich Ihnen bestens; aber es thut mir leid, dasz Sie sich deswegen Mühe machen müssen. Ich hatte Sie so verstanden, als besäszen Sie ein auszer Gebrauch gekommenes Exemplar, auf dessen Besitz Sie keinen Werth legten.

Ich werde übrigens Gelegenheit nehmen, Ihnen meinen Dank zu beweisen. Besitzen Sie schon meine Gesch. d. Wiedertäufer in Münster?

Mit freundlichem Grusz,

Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

IX

Münster, am 21. October 1886

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Ihre Zeilen vom 17. d. M. habe ich am 19. erhalten und danke bestens dafür.

Herr Bertelsmann hat mir am 16. October geantwortet, dasz er jede Ausgabe der "Deutschen Theologie," da sie der Pfeifferschen Concurrenz mache, ungern sehe u.s.w. Das ist ja ganz begreiflich, kann aber doch für Andere nicht maszgebend sein.

Ich habe nun die Absicht. ihm einen Brief zu schreiben, in welchem ich ihm über den Sachverhalt der Wahrheit gemäsz aufkläre. Ich will ihm sagen, dasz ich mit dem Plan einer neuen Ausgabe der Deutschen Theologie (ebenso wie dem Plan der Erneuerung der altevangelischen Literatur überhaupt) schon seit Jahren umgegangen bin, dasz dann Ihr Brief vom 6. Juni d. J. mich veranslaszt hat, zu Ihren Gunsten auf meine Idee bezüglich der D. Theol. zu verzichten, dasz Sie mir dann vor Kurzem mitgetheilt hätten, wie die von Ihnen in *gutem Glauben* und ohne genügende Kenntnisz des Preszgesetzes im Anschlusz an Pfeiffer beabsichtigte Edition durch seine (Bertelsmanns) Verweigerung auf Hindernisse stosze und dasz für mich, wie ich ihm (B.) mitgetheilt hätte, darauf hin der Entschlusz festgestanden, dasz, falls Ihre Ausgabe unterbleibe ich auf meinen alten Plan zurückkommen wolle. Ihr Brief vom 17. Oct. habe mich aber belehrt, dasz der Druck weit mehr fortgeschritten sei als ich gewuszt habe und dasz daher für Sie eine gütliche Verständigung mit ihm (B.) erwünscht sei.

Falls diese Verständigung nicht zu stande komme, möchte ich bei meinem Plan bleiben und eine von mir veranstaltete oder besorgte Ausgabe würde sicherlich der Pfeifferschen weit gefährlichere Concurrenz machen als die Ihrige.

Ich bitte Sie nun mir zu sagen, ob Sie damit einverstanden sind, dasz ich in diesem Sinn an H. Bertelsmann schreibe. Es wäre gut wenn ich rasche Antwort von Ihnen erhielte.

H. Bertelsmann gehört der Partei derjenigen confessionell gesinnten Lutheraner an, die gegen "die Sekten" (wie sie sagen) allen jenen Widerwillen empfindet, der in diesen Kreisen seit Jahrhunderten überliefert ist. Diese Kreise haben bisher die Mennoniten *geduldet,* weil sie einem sterbenden Manne (wie sie glaubten), der dazu dem Lutherthum vieler Orten seine Reverenz erwies, nicht noch den letzten Stosz versetzen wollten.

Sobald "die Sekten" sich wieder regen, entbrennt der alte Hasz, den ich schon gründlich kennen zu lernen Gelegenheit gehabt habe.

Jak. Denners Predigten werde ich recht gerne wenigstens leihweise einmal im Hause haben. Ich weisz, dasz er kein studierter Prediger war und habe auch von Anfang an erklärt, dasz ich in solchen nicht das Heil sehe, im Gegentheil die Liebesprediger unter allen Umständen erhalten sehen möchte und zwar aus ganz dringenden Gründen. Mit dieser Anschauung aber stimmen viele Städter nicht überein und das ist einer der Gründe, weshalb ich wünsche, in der Vereinigung die Stimme der Landgemeinden zur Geltung kommen zu sehen.

Ueber die Wehrfrage werde ich, wenn H. Hege damit einverstanden ist, gelegentlich meine Ansicht drucken lassen. Ich glaube, dasz man einen Grundsatz festhalten kann und sich doch der Obrigkeit *unterwerfen;* haben nicht die Schweizer Täufer im 17. Jahrh. sogar ihre Kinder getauft oder taufen lassen, weil die Obrigkeit es wollte? In der Wehrfrage ist die Religion vielfach nur vorgeschoben und als Vorwand gebraucht worden, um lästigen Verpflichtungen sich zu entziehen.

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

X

Münster, am 2. Nov. 1886

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Soeben erhielt ich Ihren Brief und gleichzeitig einen solchen von Herrn Bertelsmann.

Ich will Ihnen nun, ohne Ihnen nach dieser oder jener Seite hin zuzurathen, meine Ansicht von der Sache entwickeln, bemerke aber, dasz ich den Erfolg natürlich nicht voraus berechnen kann und daher von Ihnen niemals verantwortlich gemacht werden möchte für das, wozu Sie sich entschlieszen.

Zunächst würde ich, falls Sie zweifelhaft sind, Herrn Bertelsmann noch einmal bestimmt fragen, ob er Ihnen gegen Zuschlag von 375 M. den ganzen Rest der 3. Aufl. in Höhe von 600-650 Exemplar frei (ohne irgend eine weitere Zuschlageverpflichtung) überlasse. Bei einer 4. müssten Sie an die Pfeifferschen Erben die 182 M. zahlen.

Übernehmen Sie den Rest der 3. Aufl., so stehen Sie fest auf rechtlichem Boden, bei Allem, was Sie thun.

Die Aussichten für den Absatz der Pfeifferschen Ausgabe halte ich, soweit ich die Sache übersehe, durchaus für günstig, d. h. vorausgesetzt, dasz Sie ein Geschäft finden, welches sich für den Vertrieb interessirt.

Ich möchte glauben, dasz Herr Hege, sobald er sich entschlieszt, mit dieser vortrefflichen alten Schrift den Anfang eines kleinen Verlags zu machen — einen besseren Anfang könnte es m. E. kaum geben, da die "Deutsche Theologie" für alle Denominationen werthvoll ist — wohl im Stande wäre, derselben eine gröszere Verbreitung zu geben. Ich glaube auch, dasz man H. Pastor v. d. Smissen und Mannhardt dafür interessiren könnte, die schon aus Gefälligkeit gegen Herrn U. Hege, den Sie hoch schätzen, sich zur Mithilfe entschlieszen dürften. Meine Mitwirkung habe ich ja schon versprochen.

Ein Büchlein, welches (wie das Pfeiffersche) 3 Auflagen erlebt hat, ist auch im stande, eine 4. Aufl. zu erleben.

Es käme also Alles darauf an, ob Sie für die 600 Exemplare einen Verleger oder Buchhändler fänden, zu dem Sie Vertrauen haben. Dieser müszte Ihnen auch sagen, ob der Preis von 375 M. zu hoch ist; denn der

Eigentümer eines Buchs (in diesem Fall Sie selbst) erhält ja in der Regel nur 50 Prozent des Ladenpreises; 25% bekommt der Verleger und 25% der Sortimenter. Das Buch kostet 3 M.

Kaufen Sie die Pfeifferschen Exemplare, so haben Sie 1600 Exp. der Deut. Theol. abzusetzen; also immer noch 400 weniger als Sie ursprünglich wollten. Davon kommen 600 Expl. für solche Kreise, die höhere Ansprüche machen, in Betracht und deren Zahl wird in den norddeutschen Mennoniten Gemeinden vielleicht nicht ganz unbedeutend sein.

Ich bitte Sie, den Rath des Herrn U. Hege einzuholen. Ist er für die Übernahme, so kann er durch das Gem.-Bl. für die Verbreitung viel thun. Ist er nicht dafür, so halte ich die Sache für bedenklich, falls nicht entsprechender Ersatz zu finden ist.

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

Schreiben Sie mir,
falls Herr Hege ablehnt.

XI

Münster, am 24. Dec. 1886

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Meine Antwort auf Ihre freundlichen Zeilen vom 8. Dec. würde schon früher erfolgt sein, wenn nicht mancherlei für mich betrübende Zwischenfälle — Zwischenfälle, die in Folge meiner Ihnen bekannten Stellungnahme gegenüber den "Wiedertäufern" (wie man sagt) eingetreten sind und mir Gelegenheit gegeben haben, zu lernen, dasz diese Dinge nur der ergreifen soll, der Willens ist, das Kreuz Christi ihm nachzutragen — auch davon abgehalten hätten. Doch finde ich Kraft in der Hoffnung und dem festen Glauben, dasz auch hierin nur Gottes Wille geschehen ist, und dasz es zum Guten gereichen wird, sei es für andere, sei is für mich. Betrübend ist es nur, dasz die tief eingewurzelten Vorurtheile gegen alles, was mit Recht oder Unrecht zu den "Wiedertäufern" in Beziehung gesetzt werden kann — Sie wissen ja, dasz Prof. Kolde in Erlangen, der sich der Wirkung dieser Beschimpfung wohl bewuszt gewesen sein dürfte, mich wiederholt öffentlich einen "Apostel der Wiedertäufer" genannt hat — noch immer nicht schwinden wollen. Ich sehe nur einen Weg, um den nachtheiligen Folgen, die daraus sowohl für den Einzelnen wie für die Ausbreitung der Auschauungen der altevangelischen Gemeinden erwachsen müssen, zu begegnen, nämlich Einigkeit und festes Zusammenhalten Aller, die in den Hauptpunkten einig sind.

Sie haben ja durch den kräftigen Anfang, den Sie unter Schwierigkeiten aller Art mit der Erneuerung der altevangelischen Literatur gemacht haben, bereits einen Schritt nach diesem Ziele hin gethan. Herr Hege hat nämlich ganz richtig bemerkt, dasz die Zerfahrenheit dem Mangel einer eigenen Literatur mit zuzuschreiben ist. Mein Wunsch wäre es, dasz sowohl Ihre wie die Pfeiffersche Ausgabe der "D. Theol." durch alle geeigneten Artikel in den Gemeinden verbreitet würde. Die Mennoniten müszten dahin kommen, einen Colporteur zu haben. Einstweilen liesze sich vielleicht ein Ersatz durch die Mitwirkung der Reiseprediger bei der Verbreitung schaffen, die natürlich für ihre Mühewaltung die Prozente, die Sortimentshändler erhalten, beanspruchen könnten. Die Baptisten haben vor einigen Jahren Exemplare meines Buch über Denck ebenfalls durch ihre Colporteure verbreiten lassen; sie hielten die Verbreitung für ihre Zwecke in vielen Kreisen doch für nützlich. Falls der Vertrieb der D. Theol. durch Colportage (was für die gesammte Gemeinschaft ebenso

wie für die Herrn Colporteure u. für die betr. Bücher von Nutzen sein würde) sich ermöglichen liesze, würde ich glauben, dasz Sie ruhig die gesammten Exemplare des H. Bertelsmann übernehmen könnten.

Ich möchte Ihrer Erwägung anheimgeben, ob Sie nicht Herrn Pastor Mannhardt für den Vertrieb der Pfeifferschen Ausgabe in den norddeutschen Stadtgemeinden interessiren wollen. Ich werde in demselben Sinne gelegentlich an ihn schreiben.

Ist es nicht möglich, dasz zum April 1887 einige Mennoniten aus Süddeutschland, wenn auch nur als Gäste, nach Berlin zur General-Versammlung gehen? Es würden dadurch doch wenigstens persönliche Beziehungen geknüpft werden.

Mit den besten Segenswünschen zum Neuen Jahr, bin ich mit freundlichem Grusz

Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

Ihre Bücher sende ich in aller Kürze; ich bin mit der Lektüre noch beschäftigt.

XII

Münster, am 12. Juni 1887

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Sie können sich denken, dasz die Nachricht von Ihrer Übersiedlung nach Amerika mich in hohem Grade überrascht hat. Ich hätte es lieber gesehen, Sie hätten uns ihre Mitwirkung erhalten; aber ich will mich nicht zum Richter machen über das, was Sie für richtig in Ihrem Gewissen gehalten haben. Dasz es lediglich Gewissensgründe gewesen sind, glaube ich, wie ich Sie kennen gelernt habe, gern. Wie freue ich mich, aus Ihrem heute eingehenden Briefe zu sehen, dasz Sie die Mitwirkung, die wir in Deutschland jetzt von Ihnen nicht mehr haben, in Amerika insofern eintreten lassen wollen, als Sie sich bereit erklären, an der Erneuerung der alten und echten Überlieferungen Ihrer Gemeinden mitzuwirken.

Für Ihren Brief danke ich Ihnen bestens. Es sind die ersten ausführlichen und offenen Mittheilungen, welche ich über die Verhältnisse der Mennoniten in Amerika erhalte und Sie können sich denken, dasz mich dieselben sehr interessirt haben. Sie wissen auch, dasz ich auf Ihr Urtheil in diesen Dingen Werth lege, da ich weisz, dasz Sie mit allem Ernst bemüht gewesen sind, nach bestem Gewissen in der h. Schrift zu forschen und sich in die Überlieferungen Ihrer Gemeinden einzuleben. Ihr warmes Eintreten für die "Deutsche Theologie" und die Opfer, die Sie für die Erneuerung dieser alten Schrift der "Gottesfreunde" gebracht haben, werde ich nicht vergessen.

Sie wissen, dasz es mein lebhaftester Wunsch ist, die Gegensätze und Scheidungen innerhalb der christlichen Confessionen und Denominationen womöglich nicht noch weiter zu vertiefen, sondern auszugleichen und zu Eintracht und Frieden auch diejenigen zu ermahnen, die nicht in allen Punkten gleicher Überzeugung sind.

Sie werden in Amerika viel Gelegenheit finden, dieses Bemühen zu unterstützen und ich bitte Sie recht dringend darum, mir darin zu helfen.

Ich habe bis jetzt in Deutschland die erfreuliche Erfahrung gemacht, dasz meine Bemühungen in dieser Richtung sich eines offenbaren Segens zu erfreuen gehabt haben. Die deutschen Mennoniten stehen sich heute *innerlich* näher als es vielleicht seit Jahrhunderten der Fall gewesen ist und es ist gute Hoffnung vorhanden, dasz weitere Fortschritte eintreten werden, wenn Gott uns ferner seine Hilfe leiht.

Ehe ich auf Ihre Vorschläge in Sachen der Übersetzungen und der alten Schriften Dencks u.s.w. näher eingehe (ich werde später darauf zurück kommen, sobald ich Ihre Antwort auf den heutigen Brief habe), bitte ich Sie, von dem Vortrag, den ich unter Kreuzband sende "Zur Geschichte der altevangelischen Gemeinden" Kenntnisz zu nehmen und sich mit Ihren Freunden darüber zu besprechen. Ich sende Ihnen zwei Abzüge, in dem einen habe ich Einiges angestrichen.

Wenn Sie nach Lesung des Vortrags zu derselben Ansicht kommen sollten wie die deutschen Gemeinden, die ihn in *groszer Zahl* verbreiten, dasz es nämlich zweckmäszig sei, den Inhalt des Vortrages möglichst bekannt werden zu lassen, so bitte ich Sie, mir darüber Näheres zu schreiben. Wenn Sie zu einer andern Ansicht kommen, so bitte ich ebenfalls um Ihre aufrichtige Rückäuszerung.

Bitte, schreiben Sie mir dann auch, an welche Adresse ich Ihre Bücher schicken soll, die bei mir liegen und was ich etwa für die "Deutsche Theologie" thun kann.

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

XIII

Münster, am 21. Aug. 1887

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Ihren Brief vom 1. Juli, den ich kurz vor meiner Abreise nach Hamburg (wo ich mehrere Wochen war und verschiedene Besprechungen mit den dortigen Predigern Ihrer Gemeinde gehabt habe) empfing, habe ich wiederum mit vielem Interesse gelesen. Ihre Nachrichten sind mir bei dem Interesse, welches ich nun einmal für Ihre Gemeinden in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart besitze, werthvoll und ich würde Ihnen für jede spätere Ergänzung dankbar sein: Können Sie nicht einmal ein Namens-Verzeichnisz Ihrer dortigen Gemeinden, Bischöfe, Älteste und Prediger aufstellen; wenn dasselbe zunächst vielleicht auch nur Ihre engere Gemeinschaft umfaszte.

Inzwischen habe ich die letzten Nummern des Herold, für dessen regelmäszige Zusendung ich dankbar bin, mit steigendem Interesse gelesen und begrüsze namentlich Ihren planmäszigen Rückgang auf die alten schönen Schriften Taulers und der Deut.-Theologie u.s.w. mit Freuden. Um darin freilich wirksam vorgehen zu können, wäre es unerläszlich, diese alten Schriften der "Gottesfreunde," deren viele noch in den Bibliotheken und Archiven verborgen ruhen, planmäszig ans Licht zu ziehen. Es wird jetzt der Plan erörtet, eine *"Gesellschaft für die Geschichtskunde der altevangelischen Gemeinden zu gründen,"* welche die alte Literatur wieder hervorziehen soll. Wir bedürfen dazu die Mithilfe der Mennoniten aller Länder und aller Richtungen, und ich bin gewisz, dasz daraus ein groszer Segen für Ihre Gemeinden erwachsen, auch viele sich Ihnen aus andern Denominationen nähern würden. Ich bin ja auch nur durch die alte Literatur und Geschichte auf diesen Weg mit Gottes Hilfe gekommen. Einer solchen Gesellschaft würde nur die wissenschaftliche Förderung zufallen, die Verbreitung in Volksschriften u.s.w. würde mittelst der Zeitschriften und Blätter und der mennonitischen Druckereien späterhin erfolgen müssen.

Wenn es Ihnen möglich ist, den "Herold der Wahrheit" auf dem jetzt eingeschlagenen Wege weiter zu führen (vielleicht könnten Sie auszer Dencks auch Seb. Francks und Schwenkfelds Schriften reproduciren, und

namentlich aus Joh. Deknatel und Jacob Denner Manches abdrucken) und wenn Sie dann auch den Angelegenheiten der deutschen, schweizerischen, russischen und holländischen Mennoniten öfters ihre Spalten öffnen könnten, so würde ich hoffen, in Europa erfolgreich für Sie eintreten zu können. In Europa wird sich mit der Zeit ein groszes Feld für Ihre Gemeinden eröffnen (die Baptisten und Methodisten haben dies längst erkannt und handeln demgemäsz), wenn es gelingt, dasz Sie die halbverlorene Fühlung mit Ihren hiesigen Brüdern wiedergewinnen. Man hat in Europa jetzt wohl den guten Willen, mit Ihnen anzuknüpfen; sobald Sie einige entgegenkommende Schritte thun, wird das Eis gebrochen sein. Würden Ihre Gemeinden z. B. Vertreter zu einer groszen Versammlung im Jahr 1890 nach Berlin schicken? So gut wie in der "evangelischen Allianz" Lutheraner, Methodisten, Baptisten u.s.w. von Zeit zu Zeit zusammen kommen, könnten sich die Mennoniten der verschiedenen Zweige mit den Quäkern, Schwenkfeldern, Arminianern, Remonstranten, Dunkers, mancherlei Zweige der General-Baptists, die huterischen Brüder, einzelne Richtungen der Presbyterianer u.s.w., kurz, alle die Parteien, die aus dem alten Anabaptismus erwachsen sind, zu einer "altevangelischen Alliance" oder einem *"aletvangelischen Bunde"* vereinigen.

Denken Sie mit Ihren Freunden dieser Sache nach. Es ist eine grosze, aber schöne Aufgabe. Können Sie mir über die Dunker keine nähere Auskunft verschaffen?

Ihre (der Dunker) vornehmste Zeitschriften sollen sein:

1. The primitive Christian and Pilgrim, Huntington, Pennsylvania.
2. The progressive Christian, in Berlin, Somerset County, Pennsylv.
3. Gospel Preacher, Ashland, Ohio.
4. The Brethren Advocate, Waynesboro, Franklin Co., Pennsylv.
5. Der Bruder-Bote, Iowa.

Erhalten Sie diese Zeitschriften nicht im Austausch?

Können Sie mir nichts über die Christians (Campbelliten) mittheilen? Ich würde gerne einige Zeitschriften derselben kennen lernen. Eine Adresse ist, wie ich höre: Central Christian Church, 12th Street, above Wallace, Philadelphia.

Es wäre sehr nützlich, wenn Sie Dencks Schrift von der wahren Liebe in einer neuen Ausgabe herstellen und verbreiten könnten. Kann ich Ihnen dabei nützlich sein, so will ich es gerne thun.

Es ist sehr nützlich, dasz Sie mit den huterischen Brüdern in Wittenberg angeknüpft haben. Wie merkwürdig, dasz diese noch Briefe von Denck besitzen: Könnte ich Abschrift davon erhalten?

Was die Überstzung ins Englische anbetrifft, so möchte ich zunächst gerne den Vortrag übersetzt sehen. Wie denken Sie darüber?

Ist Ihr Vater (oder ist es Ihr Onkel?) in Gelchsheim gestorben? Ich nehme herzlichen Antheil an dieser schweren Prüfung, die auch die badische Gemeinde dadurch betroffen hat und bitte Gott um Trost für alle Angehörigen.

Herzlichen Grusz
Ludw. Keller

Heute sind Ihre Bücher von mir an H. C. Meyer, Bremen, geschickt worden.

Wollen Sie nicht den Aufruf (Bitte) H. G. Mannhardts in No. 14 der Rundschau (Halbmonatl. Ausg.) v. 15/7 1887 im "Herold" abdrucken?

XIV

Münster, am 4. Oct. 1887

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Ihren Brief vom 18. Sept. und den vom 21. Aug. habe ich erhalten. Es ist mir ganz recht, dasz die Übersetzung nicht in Elkhart erscheint, ich glaubte Ihnen dies auch auf Ihre erste Anfrage angedeutet zu haben. Für die mannigfachen Nachrichten, die Sie mir schicken, danke ich besztens. Ich bitte Sie freundlich 1) Um die Bekanntmachung (sei es im "Herold" oder wo sonst) der Briefe Dencks, Schiemers, Schlaffers, Langenmantels. Auch der Brief von Brandhuber verdiente gedruckt zu werden und die alte Abendmahls predigt. 2) Bitte ich um Nachrichten von den Tunkern. Ich glaube, dasz Sie eine ganz richtige Empfindung gehabt haben als Sie sich sympathisch von deren Predigten berührt fühlten.

Es wäre wichtig (und wie ich glaube möglich), sie wieder in nähere Fühlung mit den übrigen Gemeinden zu setzen. Knüpfen Sie doch Freundschaft mit einigen ihrer angeseheneren Männer an.

Warum besuchen Sie gerade die Anstalt der Albrechtsleute? Ihre Lehre in Bezug auf Rechtfertigung u. Heiligung u.s.w. weicht unter allen Zweigen der Methodisten am weitesten von altevangelischen Auffassungen ab. Sie sind ja in Ihren Überzeugungen fest und reif genug, dasz Sie das Rechte von dem Unrichtigen unterscheiden werden; auch in diesem Punkte haben Sie sicherlich die richtige Empfindung, wenn Sie mir schreiben, dasz Ihnen dies Wesen ganz und gar nicht gefalle. Jeder Versuch, dies Wesen auf irgend einem Wege in die Mennoniten-Gemeinden hineinzutragen, wird und musz auf heftigen und entschlossenen Widerstand stoszen. So duldsam ich selbst im Allgemeinen bin und denke, so würde ich doch mit Jedem, der dies Wesen annimmt oder vertritt, sofort jede Beziehung abbrechen.

Dies schlieszt nicht aus, dasz einzelne Richtungen und Personen sehr achtungswerth sein können. Ich sende Ihnen den "Evangelist," Organ der bischöflichen Methodisten in Deutschland, welcher meinen Vortrag warm empfiehlt. Mithin haben die Herren in Bremen doch nicht gefunden (was Andere im Anschlusz an lutherische Auffassungen sagen), dasz ich das Verdienst des Blutes Christi zu wenig betone. "Der Zionspilger" hat bereits 20 Exemplare meines Vortrags verkauft — auch ein Zeichen, dasz die Schweizer, die doch sonst sehr streng sind, den Inhalt billigen.

Wenn das Verzeichnisz Ihrer amerik. Gemeinden erscheint, so bitte ich um einen Abzug.

Denken Sie an die oben erwähnten Briefe und an die Tunker!

Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

XV

Münster, am 21. Dec. 1887

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Ihr vortrefflicher Artikel im "Herold der Wahrheit" vom 1. Dec., den ich heute gelesen habe, erinnert mich daran, dasz ich Ihnen noch einen Brief schuldig bin. Ich freue mich, damit beginnen zu können, dasz ich meinen besten Dank für Ihren Aufsatz sage. Sie haben recht: es wird in den alten Gemeinden nicht eher besser werden, als bis man aufhört, in Mennos Autorität eine unfehlbare Lehrentscheidung zu erblicken. Es war ein sehr groszer Fehler, der sich jetzt rächt, dasz die alten "Gemeinden Christi" anfingen, sich nach einem sterblichen Menschen zu nennen. Dadurch verengerte sich ihr Gesichtskreis und viele Gemeinden nahmen wirklich den Charakter einer "Sekte" an, die verhärtet ist in alten Gewohn-

heiten und Äuszerlichkeiten ohne inneres kräftiges Leben im Geist und in der Wahrheit.

Ich glaube nicht, dasz ein Aufgehen aller Gemeinden in der "Allg.-Conferenz" wünschenswerth wäre; dort hat eine offenbare Annäherung an gewisse andere Denominationen stattgefunden; die altevangelischen Prinzipien sind nicht so klar und rein dort festgehalten als es wünschenswerth wäre.

Die Übung der Gemeindezucht sollte nach den Grundsätzen stattfinden wie ich sie in Nro. 11 des Gem-Blattes v. 1885 entwickelt habe im Anschlusz an Waldensische Bräuche.

Was die Fuszwaschung betrift, so möchte ich sie nicht entfernt wissen. Aber was ich wünsche ist, dasz diese rituelle Frage nicht zum Trennungsgrund gemacht wird. Die Freiheit der Einzelgemeinde musz hierin von der Gesammtheit geachtet werden. Soll aber deshalb eine dauernde Spaltung Platz greifen?

Die Frage der Krankenölung verdient sehr ernste Prüfung. Wir können aber *heute* darüber in Deutschland nicht einmal eine Discussion eröffnen, wenn wir nicht Anstosz und Feindschaft erregen wollen. Ich würde durchaus nicht gegen die Einführung sein; ich halte sie sehr diskutabel.

Vorläufig kommt alles auf erneuerte *persönliche* Annäherung der verständigeren Männer aus allen Richtungen an. Ich bitte Sie, Herrn Corn. Jansen sen. in Beatrice von mir zu grüszen.

In der Wehrfrage denke ich Folgendermaszen: Ich glaube, dasz die Menschentödtung verboten und in diesem Sinn Wehrlosigkeit Pflicht ist. Eine Mitwirkung bei dem Dienst für das Vaterland, welche ohne Tödtung möglich ist, halte ich ohne Sünde für erlaubt: Christus hat für sich und die Seinen die Verpflichtung zur Entrichtung der Tempelsteuer zwar grundsätzlich *bestritten,* aber gleichwohl hat er die Abgabe entrichtet, "damit die Freunde sich nicht ärgern." Es war eben ohne Sünde möglich, wenn es auch besser unterblieben wäre.

Sie werden das Mannhardtsche Jahrbuch erhalten — lesen Sie es genau durch! Studieren Sie Gotfried Arnolds Kirchengesch. Sie ist besser als die von Kurtz, der sehr confessionell lutherisch ist.

Halten Sie sich dauernd freundlich mit den Dunkern. Ich würde gerne mehr von ihnen erfahren. Ihre Zeitung habe ich erhalten und gelesen.

Veröffentlichen Sie die Briefe von Schiemer, Langenmantel u.s.w. allmählich im Herold! Können Sie dort nicht Auszüge aus meinem Vortrag geben? Namentlich die ersten Theile?

Ich erhalte den Bundesboten seit 7/10 87 nicht mehr. Hat er meinen Brief abgedruckt? Kennen Sie Herrn C. H. H. van der Smissen?

Mit den besten Wünschen
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

Wir kommen in Deutschland mit Gottes Hülfe gut vorwärts.

XVI

Münster, am 8. Febr. 1888

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Besten Dank für Ihre letzten Mittheilungen, die mich (wie immer) sehr interessirten. Ich freue mich auch stets, Ihnen im "Herold der Wahrheit" zu begegnen und kann Ihnen sagen, dasz H. Mannhardt darin ebenso denkt wie ich; ja dasz in Bezug auf die Thatsache, dasz der Herold

inhaltreicher und wärmer und anziehender, auch mehr in altevangelischem (altchristlichem) Geist als der Bundesbote gehalten ist in Deutschland (so weit ich erfahren habe) nur eine Stimme ist. Vor einigen Monaten besuchte mich Herr P. A. Claassen aus Beatrice, der sich ebenfalls über die Leere des Bundesboten beklagte und in der That, man weisz oft nicht, ob man ein methodistisches oder baptistisches oder mennonitisches Blatt vor sich hat.

Die Dank-Adresse, welche die Allg. Conferenz im Nov. mir zu senden beschlossen hat, ist inzwischen in m. Hände gelangt.

Kürzlich schrieb mir Prof. Hartranft in Hartford, Connect. eine warme Zustimmung und Herr Josia W. Leeds in Philadelphia (der mir bis dahin unbekannt war) schickte mir ein Buch. Vielleicht kennen Sie den Herrn. Einen freundlichen Brief sendet mir ferner Herr Herm. Sudermann in Newton, Kansas, ohne dasz ich denselben bisher kannte. H. C. H. H. v. d. Smissen in Louisville versichert mir neuerdings seine warme Zustimmung, obwohl einige Russenbrüder mit mir nicht ganz einverstanden seien. Dies alles schreibe ich zu Ihrer Orientirung.

Ich sehe im Bundesboten die Aufforderung des H. Schowalter zu einer Besprechung der Altevangelischen. Ich bitte Sie recht angelegentlich, die Angelegenheit der "Alliance" sich *langsam* entwickeln zu lassen und vorläufig ganz vertraulich zu behandeln u. womöglich nicht in die Öffentlichkeit zu bringen. Uebereiltes Vorgehen kann den ganzen Gedanken in Gefahr bringen.

Es sind eine Menge vorbereitender Maszregeln nothwendig. Vor allem musz sich der Begriff der altevangelischen (altchristlichen) Gemeinden, den ich ja in m. Vortrag einigermaszen klar zu machen versucht habe, noch mehr Bahn brechen. Unter den Quäckern ist darin fast noch nichts geschehen. Ein wichtiger Schritt ist der Druck Denckscher Schriften und ich freue mich, dasz das Büchlein Von d. Liebe gedruckt werden wird. Sie werden auch dafür in Deutschland Freunde finden.

Als Vorrede wäre eine kurze Lebensbeschreibung Dencks wichtig und einige Nachrichten über die Synode in Augsburg v. 1527 nebst Hinweis, dasz die meisten der Theilnehmer im Märtyrer-Spiegel stehen.

Wenn der "Herold" die alten Briefe dieser Märtyrer (wie den Brandhuberschen) planmäszig publicirt, so wird er sich viele Freunde schaffen und zum Organ der Unionspartei auf altevangelischer Grundlage werden können.

Doch wollen wir in diesen Dingen immer zuerst daran denken, dasz das Meiste auch hier auf Gottes Segen ankommt, den wir uns zu erbitten haben und die Dinge allmählich reifen lassen. Andererseits soll uns aber auch ein erster Miszerfolg nicht kleinmüthig machen.

Das "Jahrbuch," welches ganz auf altevangelischem Boden steht und die Anknüpfung an die apostolischen (altchristlichen) Zeiten betont, ist binnen 8 Wochen in 600 Exp. verbreitet worden. Von meinem Vortrag werden bis jetzt etwa 200 Exp. verbreitet sein; 3300 sind gedruckt worden. Ich danke Ihnen für Ihre Bemühungen zur Ausbreitung und sende noch zwei Exemplare zu diesem Zweck.

Die Ausarbeitung eines Formularbuchs hat auch Herr C. A. H. v. d. Smissen für die Allg. Conferenz übernommen und ebenso wie Sie um Hilfe gebeten. Ich sende Ihnen mein Neuwieder Formularbuch und mache Sie (indem ich dasselbe mir in 3 Monaten zurück erbitte) aufmerksam, dasz der III. Theil (S. 299) der älteste ist, aber schwer verständlich und mangelhaft aufgesetzt ist.

Wollen Sie sich nicht mit H. v. d. Sm. in Beziehung setzen und Ihre Ergebnisse austauschen? Eine so wichtige Sache musz langsam und mit Vorsicht gemacht werden.

H. v. d. Sm. hält Vorträge über meine Bücher, wie Ihnen die Anlage beweist. Wollen Sie sich ebenfalls darin einige Übung zu verschaffen suchen?

Ich bin mit einem neuen beschäftigt und sehr in Anspruch genommen.

Mit herzlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

Es ist doch wohl das Beste, wenn Sie nach Elkhart zurück kehren. Aber wenn ich mir einen Rath in Bezug auf die Veröffentlichungen im Herold erlauben darf, so verfahren Sie vorläufig in der Besprechung von *Einrichtungen* (z.B. Abendmahl, Fuszwaschung, letzte Ölung u.s.w.) recht zurückhaltend; man weckt dadurch leicht Verstimmungen. Aber die Schriften von Märtyrern u.s.w. sind interessant und wichtig und niemand kann daran Anstosz nehmen. Wir dürfen auch nicht einen *falschen* Schritt thun, sonst ist alles verloren. D. O.

XVII

Münster, am 21. Juli 1888

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Endlich, nachdem das Manuscript meines neuen Buches in die Druckerei gewandert ist, komme ich dazu, Ihnen den Brief und den Dank zu senden, den ich Ihnen längst schuldig war. Ich bitte Sie, es zu glauben, dasz meine Gesinnung gegen Sie durchaus unverändert ist; ich verfolge Ihre aufopferungsvolle Thätigkeit durch die regelmäszige Lektüre des Herold d. W. genau und freue mich, mit welcher Energie Sie den Gedanken der Erneuerung Ihrer alten und ehrwürdigen Gemeinden durch die Wiederbelebung der Traditionen ihrer besten Zeit verfolgen. Möge Gott Ihre Bemühungen segnen, das ist, wie Sie wohl wissen, mein herzlicher Wunsch.

Ich habe Neudruck der Schriften von Denck und Langenmantel erhalten und mit vieler Freude in dem neuen Gewande meine alten Freunde wieder erkannt. Ich behalte mir vor, Ihnen die Schrift Dencks Vom freien Willen zu schicken; meine Abschrift ist augenblicklich im Besitz des Herrn Pred. Neff auf dem Weierhof, welcher eine kleine populäre Biographie Dencks schreiben will. Ich freue mich, dasz Sie die alten Schriften von Neuem drucken und werde sie in Deutschland bekannt zu machen suchen. Haben Sie den "Menn. Bl." und dem "Gem.-Bl." Abzüge geschickt? Ich empfehle Ihrer Aufmerksamkeit die Lektüre des "Zondagsboden," den Sie wohl erhalten. Er bringt viele Artikel über praktisch religiöse und sociale Fragen (Armensorge, Waisenpflege, Kinderheilstätten u.s.w.), die für jeden Christen, der ein Herz hat für die Noth seiner Mitmenschen, von Interesse sind.

Sie haben in Ihrem Brief einen sehr richtigen und wichtigen Gedanken angeregt: Die Gründung einer Schule für Ihre Gemeinden.

Suchen Sie doch unbefangene Männer, die das Christenthum nicht in äuszerer Art suchen, für diesen Plan zu gewinnen. Voraussetzung dafür ist freilich die Weckung der Liebe und Opferwilligkeit für die eigne Gemeinschaft und dies kann durch nichts mehr gefördert werden als durch die Erneuerung des Andenkens an die alten Märtyrer. Können Sie nicht im nächsten Winter über geschichtliche Aufgaben Vorträge halten? Wenn diese Vorträge ohne dogmatische Spitze und ohne die Betonung der Unterscheidungslehren gehalten werden, warum sollten dann nicht die verschiedenen Abtheilungen der Mennoniten dazu kommen und sie hören?

Die fortdauernden Spaltungen und Trennungen sind kein gutes Zeichen. Ich bitte Sie recht sehr, dasz Sie sich im Aufblick zu dem, der die Liebe

selbst ist und in der Erinnerung an die grosze Vergangenheit nie in kleinliche Parteiungen einlassen und die groszen und allgemeinen Geschichtspunkte, die weit über all den Trennungen stehen, immer im Auge behalten.

In Europa macht unter Ihren Gemeinden der Geist der Eintracht unzweifelhaft Fortschritte. Sollte es in Amerika nicht auch möglich sein? Findet sich unter den Mennoniten Niemand, der für die Gründung einer Schule, welche allen Abtheilungen ihre Thüren öffnet ein Herz hat und eine gröszere Summe dafür gibt?

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

Unter Kzbd sende ich Ihnen eine Hutersche Predigt, die Verbreitung verdient.

XVIII

Münster, am 18. Nov. 1888

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Haben Sie für Ihren Brief v. 7. Aug. herzlichen Dank und ebenso für die fernere regelmäszige Zusendung des Herold. Ich lese den Herold so gerne (im Gegensatz zum Bundesboten) und finde, dasz Sie den eigentlichen und wahren Charakter altevangelischen und altchristlichen Christenthums meist so richtig treffen (wiederum im Gegensatz zum Christl. Bundesboten), dasz ich es von Herzen bedaure, einstweilen noch nicht im Stande zu sein, Ihre Auffassung von der Wehrlosigkeit vollständig zu theilen. Ich habe mich über die Sache im Gemeinde-Blatt Nro. 5 u. 6 u. 10 des Näheren ausgesprochen und darf wohl voraussetzen, dasz Sie die Artikel gelesen haben. Mein Hauptgrund ist die Stelle Joh. 2, 15, wo Christus selbst zur Abwehr (wenn auch nicht zur Waffe) gegriffen hat.

Es ist kein Zweifel, dasz in dieser Frage ein sehr erheblicher Theil der Mennoniten auf meiner Seite steht. Ich denke forwährend darüber nach, ob es nicht trotz dieser Meinungsverschiedenheit möglich bleibt, eine Wiedernäherung zwischen den "wehrlosen" und den "rachelosen" Christen früher oder später herbeizuführen.

Dasz der Satz: "Ihr sollt nicht widerstreben dem Bösen (oder dem Übel)" einen Grundgedanken des Christenthums zum Ausdruck bringt, bestreite ich durchaus nicht. Sie werden gerade diesen Gedanken in meinem neuen Buch über "Joh. v. Staupitz" in seiner besonderen Bedeutung stark betont finden und ich billige es durchaus, wenn Sie (wie in Nro. 21 des Herold v. 7/11 88) immer wieder auf die Gelassenheit oder auf die Forderung der leidenswilligen Ergebung hinweisen. Das ist eben auch ein Kennzeichen altevangelischen Christenthums. In der "Gelassenheit" beruht ein Mittel des Heilswegs oder ein Gnadenmittel, welches von weit höherer Bedeutung ist als die sog. Sacramente.

Das alles finden Sie in meinem Buch. Soll ich Ihnen ein Exemplar schicken? Ich würde mich natürlich freuen, wenn Sie dasselbe im Herold anzeigen könnten. Es steht sehr Vieles darin, was gerade den alten Mennoniten sympathisch sein wird.

Ich sehe, dasz in Amerika (ebenso wie in Europa) der Einigungsgedanke unter den Mennoniten Fortschritte macht. Sie werden in meinem Buch finden, dasz ich die Fuszwaschung (unter bestimmten Formen und Bedingungen) bestehen lasse, ebenso den Bruderkusz, auch die Stellung zur Obrigkeit und die Vermögensgemeinschaft klärt sich jetzt auf.

Die Freiheit der Einzelgemeinde, die unter den altevangel. Taufgesinnten stets Gesetz war, macht es doch möglich, dasz einzelne Gemeinden

bestimmte Bräuche u.s.w. haben, welche die anderen nicht üben, ohne dasz deshalb die Gemeinschaft zerbrochen zu werden braucht. Könnten nicht amische und nichtamische ihre gemeinsamen Aufgaben (zumal den Aufbau des Gottesreichs, in Werken der Nächstenliebe u.s.w.) auch in gemeinsamen Conferenzen besprechen und erledigen? Dazu würde Gott seinen Segen geben und die alten Märtyrer-Gemeinden zu neuem Leben erwecken.

Mit herzlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

XIX

Münster, am 21. Nov. 1888

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Soeben, wenige Tage nach Abgang meines letzten Briefs an Sie, erhalte ich Ihre Zeilen vom 5. Nov. Ich will Ihnen sofort dafür danken und Ihnen sagen, wie sehr ich mich freue, dasz Ihre aufopfernde Thätigkeit für den Aufbau des Gottesreichs vom Segen Gottes begleitet ist.

Der Natur der Sache nach, kann der Samen, den Sie (wie ich) ausstreuen, nur langsam aufgehen und wir müssen unsere Thätigkeit vorläufig im Wesentlichen darauf beschränken, zu beten und zu arbeiten. Manches Samenkorn fällt sicherlich unter die Dornen, aber manches wird, so Gott will, mit der Zeit fröhlich gedeihen. Der Boden, den ich hier vor mir habe, ist offenbar noch steiniger und unfruchtbarer als der Ihrige; doch will ich den Muth nicht sinken lassen.

Ich glaube dasz Sie in der Auswahl des Stoffes für den Herold durchaus auf dem richtigen Weg sind (bringen Sie doch auch gelegentlich Auszüge aus M. Hahns Schriften). Aber halten Sie sich stets gegenwärtig, dasz Sie die ältere und älteste Generation, die sich fest in ihre Richtung eingelebt hat, nie ganz auf den Pfad, den der Herold jetzt einhält, werden führen können, dasz vielmehr alles darauf ankommt, diejenigen zu gewinnen, die zwischen 20 u. 30 Jahr alt sind. Ich mache bei uns dieselbe Beobachtung. Aber Sie dürfen glauben, dasz ein klares und bestimmtes Ziel, wie es die Rückkehr zu den besten Zeiten der altevangelischen Taufgesinnten (1517-1535) ist, wenn es nur bestimmt und klar festgehalten und verfolgt wird, sicherlich mit der Zeit Ihnen und dem Herold viele Freunde zuführen wird. Freilich ist ja auch hier an Gottes Segen Alles gelegen.

Um der Schrift Dencks bezw. Langenmantels in Deutschland Verbreitung zu verschaffen, wäre es nothwendig, dasz U. Hege den Commissions-Verlag übernähme und dasz dies auf dem Titelblatt durch Ueberdruck eines Zettels angegeben werde. Freilich wird in diesen Verlagssachen ohne die Mitwirkung von Wanderpredigern, welche zugleich die Schriften colportieren, nie viel zu erreichen sein.

Ich sende Ihnen heute sofort ein Exemplar meines Buchs und bitte Sie, nachdem Sie es gelesen haben, geeignete Abschnitte daraus im Herold zum Abdruck zu bringen, z. B. den Abschnitt S. 62-80, über die sog. Mystik und die "Ergebung" oder Gelassenheit, gemäsz dem Spruch: "Du sollst nicht widerstreben dem Uebel."

Wenn Sie das Buch gelesen haben, bitte ich Sie, mir darüber Ihre Ansicht ganz ohne Rückhalt auszusprechen.

Mit herzlichem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludw. Keller

Wenn U. Hege die Bücher (über Denck) hier hat, will ich einige verbreiten.

XX

Münster, am 12. Juni 1889

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Es ist mir lieb gewesen, durch Ihren Brief vom 26. — auch Ihre letzten Briefe vom Dec. und Jan. habe ich mit Dank erhalten — Ihre neue Adresse zu erfahren; ich bitte, mir auch in Zukunft Ihren Wohnort anzugeben; denn ich möchte gern eine Beziehung aufrecht erhalten, die doch, wenn ich recht sehe, für uns beide förderlich ist, ganz abgesehen davon, dasz unser Zusammenwirken offenbar schon für Manchen segensreich geworden ist und, so Gott will, noch mehr werden kann und wird. Ich lese den Herold fortgesetzt mit Interesse und kann mir stets von Neuem bestätigen, dasz der Geist der alten Täufer, den ich unter Ihren Gemeinden so gern mit Gottes Hülfe wieder wach rufen möchte, darin viel mehr zu Tage tritt, als im Bundesboten und in anderen Blättern.

Ich habe den Herold auch in Deutschland mehrfach empfohlen; ich bitte Sie, mir von Nro. 5 v. 1. März 1889 7—8 Abzüge senden zu lassen, um dieselben in Deutschland zu verbreiten.

Es läszt sich nicht verkennen, dasz seit einigen Jahren sowohl in Deutschland wie in der Schweiz und Holland, selbst in Ruszland ein regeres Leben unter Ihren Gemeinden erwacht ist. Es gährt gleichsam unter ihnen und wenn die Meinungen auch noch nicht geklärt sind, so sind sie doch auf dem Wege zu einem kräftigeren religiösen Leben.

Es freut mich, dasz Sie Matthias Claudius schätzen gelernt haben. Seine innige Frömmigkeit verdient es, dasz man ihn als echten Christen schätzt. Wissen Sie, dasz Claudius s. Z. ein sehr angesehener Freimaurer war? Jung Stilling ist es ebenfalls gewesen und Sie können daraus sehen, dasz zwischen deutschen u. amerikanischen Freimaurern (welch letztere sehr zum Atheismus neigen sollen) doch ein Unterschied zu machen ist. Noch heute giebt es in Deutschland gerade unter den Freimaurern viele echte und wahre Christen, d. h. Männer, die nicht blosz dem Munde und dem Bekenntnisz nach, sondern in Wahrheit Christen sind.

Was Sie mir in Ihrem letzten Brief über die Extravaganzen etlicher Prohibitionisten schreiben, erinnert mich doch sehr an die biblischen Warnungen (vgl. Col. 2, 16) vor solchen, die Andern über Speise und Trank ein Gewissen machen. Ich habe auch meine Ansichten über gegohrene Getränke und Alkohol und glaube, dasz es besser wäre, wenn wir den Menschen Ersatzmittel schaffen könnten. Aber ich werde diese Sache stets nur als sanitäre Frage, nicht als Gewissenssache oder Sünde ansehen und behandeln und nach Röm. 14, 2f. Niemanden deswegen richten. Ich glaube, dasz die ganze Alkohol-Frage auf das engste zusammenhängt mit einer viel wichtigeren, nämlich mit der Beschränkung des übermässigen Fleischgenusses. Kann man den letzteren einschwächen (was ich für meine Person thue), so verliert sich die Lust am Alkohol mehr und mehr von selbst. Menschen, die viel Fleisch essen, werden durch keine Prohibition dauernd vom Alkohol abzuhalten sein. Dies alles aber sind keine Gewissensfragen, sondern Gesundheitsfragen, die jeder für sich selbst entscheiden musz ohne andere zu richten. So haben es die Apostel gemacht und so müssen wir es auch machen.

Freundlichen Grusz
Ludw. Keller

XXI

Münster, am 15. Nov. 1889

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Es thut mir leid, dasz ich erst heute dazu komme, Ihre Zeilen vom 22. Juli u. 19. Sept. zu beantworten; ich war inzwischen wiederholt verreist und

habe viel anderes zu thun gehabt. Ich freue mich nun, aus der soeben eintreffenden letzten Nummer der Herold zu sehen, dasz Sie unbeirrt durch Widerspruch und Angriff mit Gottes Hülfe auf dem eingeschlagenen Wege fortfahren. Dasz Sie jetzt mehr geschichtliche Artikel geben halte ich für sehr richtig, auch sind die Auszüge aus M. Claudius, Joh. Arnd, Seb. Franck vortrefflich und zeitgemäsz; ich wünschte nur, dasz die übrigen menn. Zeitschriften gleiche Auszüge brächten, anstatt fortwährend nur von Sonntagsschulen und äuszerer Mission zu berichten; auch den Artikel über die Taufe, den Sie geschrieben haben, finde ich durchaus im Geist der alten Täufer; sehr richtig ist namentlich der Hinweis auf die Quäker.

Es ist doch unverkennbar, dasz seit einigen Jahren ein frischerer Geist durch alle ihre Gemeinden geht; allerdings gährt es einstweilen nur und die Meinungen haben sich noch nicht geklärt, aber man fühlt ziemlich allgemein, dasz es so wie bisher nicht weiter gehen kann und darf und dasz es anders werden musz. Die früheren Zustände boten einer eifrigen Gemeinschaft, wie die Baptisten es sind, eine vorzügliche Gelegenheit dar, um Proselyten unter den Mennoniten zu machen und ich wundere mich gar nicht, dasz sie Erfolg haben. Indessen thut es mir leid, dasz so viele Mennoniten von den Ueberlieferungen ihrer Väter abfallen und ich würde es für viel besser halten, wenn sie anstatt zu den Baptisten überzugehen, sich in ihre eigne Geschichte vertiefen und dort Liebe und Wärme für ihre Gemeinschaft suchen und finden wollten.

Für mich ist es allerdings zweifellos, dasz wenn dem Abfall zu Baptismus, Methodismus, u.s.w. gesteuert werden soll, wenigstens eine Anzahl entschlossener und frommer Männer sich zusammenfinden musz, die den Muth haben zu sagen, was noth thut; es ist nicht zu erwarten, dasz alle mitgehen werden und am Widerspruch wird es nicht fehlen, aber wo wäre etwas Gutes in der Welt ohne Widerspruch durchgesetzt worden.

Ich meine nicht, dasz jene Männer sofort an die Oeffentlichkeit treten sollten mit Artikeln und Aufsätzen, vielmehr müszte eine persönliche Annäherung und Verständigung vorausgehen, vor Allem über die Frage, wie ein Mittelpunkt oder ein fester Punkt, auf den man sich stützen könnte, zu schaffen wäre. Ich würde eine *Schule* (etwa wie der Weierhof eine ist) für sehr wichtig halten.

Die beste Dogmengeschichte, die wir gegenwärtig besitzen, ist die von Ad. *Harnack* (Freiburg i/Br. Mohr 2. 1886); sie ist am wenigsten im staats- oder landeskirchl. Geist gehalten und durchaus vorurtheilsfrei auf Grund eines reinen Strebens nach der Wahrheit geschrieben, deshalb auch viel angefeindet. Ferner empfehle ich Ihnen als beste Einführung in die krit. Fragen: *Holtzmann,* H. J. Histor.-Kritische Einleitung in das Neue Test. Frbrg. i/Br. 1886 2. Aufl. Als Kirchengeschichte ist immer noch der alte Arnold empfehlenswerth.

Mit bestem Grusz
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

XXII

Münster, am 13. Jan. 90.

Werther Herr Horsch!

Besten Dank sage ich Ihnen für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 1. Jan. Heute wollte ich nur ganz kurz Ihrer Erwägung und Entschlieszung anheimgeben, ob Sie nicht Ihre Beiträge zur Gesch. der Mennoniten aus dem Herold als besondere kleine Schrift (wo Sie dann aber wohl besser "Geschichte der *Taufgesinnten*" vom J . . . bis zum J . . . sagten) erschei-

nen lassen wollen. Ich möchte glauben, dasz Sie Freunde dafür finden werden; ich wäre im Interesse der Sache gern bereit, für das Bekanntwerden derselben in Deutschland (und Ruszland) mich zu bemühen; auch H. Ph. Kieferndorf und H. P. Mannhardt, die Sie hochschätzen, würden gewisz ihre Mitwirkung nicht versagen.

Ich möchte glauben, dasz der "Herold der Wahrheit" wohl in Deutschland manche Freunde finden könnte, wenn der Herausgeber den Versuch machte, ihn bekannt zu machen. Wollen Sie Herrn Funk (dem Sie diesen Brief zeigen können) nicht fragen, ob er Probe-Nummern an die Mitglieder des Curatoriums der Vereinigung (die Adressen stehen in Nro. 1 der Menn. Bl. v. 1. Jan. 1890) senden möchte? Andere Blätter verschicken wohl ein halbes Jahr lang ihre Zeitung umsonst an solche Männer, die sich dafür interessiren.

Ich bitte Sie, Herrn Funk meinen Dank für die regelmäszige Zusendung des Herold auszusprechen.

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Ludwig Keller

Meine Schriften werden jetzt in Deutschland immer bekannter; dies kommt auch den Mennoniten zugut; man urtheilt heute schon ganz anders über sie als vor 10 und 12 Jahren. Aber es wäre dringend wünschenswerth, dasz der Name *altevangelische Gemeinden* in Gebrauch komme und bleibe; denn sehr viele würden sich wohl altevangelisch nennen, die sich niemals Mennoniten nennen würden.

Es ist neuerdings ein wichtiges Buch von G. E. Frericks, taufges. Prediger zu Oudebildtzijl (Holland) erschienen: De Godsdienst u.s.w. — er wird es Ihnen gerne schicken, wenn Sie ihn bitten—, worin viel Wahres über die Geschichte der Täufer und Mennoniten (auch über Denck) steht.

XXIII

Münster, am 10. Aug. 1890

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Für Ihre letzten Briefe will ich Ihnen, wenn auch nur kurz, bestens danken.

Sie haben ganz recht, wenn Sie sagen, dasz der Anfang der Täufergeschichte leichter zu schreiben ist, als der Fortgang; man kann auch hinzufügen, dasz er erfreulicher und erhabender ist als der Fortgang. Mir scheint es heute aber auch am wichtigsten, dasz der Anfang und die Geschichte der Märtyrer wieder geschrieben und gelesen werde und ich möchte deshalb wünschen, dasz Sie doch den Versuch machen und wenigstens einen ersten Theil herausgeben; für das Spätere findet sich mit Gottes Hilfe vielleicht Rath. Sie und Herr Funk, dem Sie mich empfehlen wollen, sehen dann auch, ob das Buch Abnehmer findet und Sie können dann ruhiger an die Fortsetzung gehen.

Ihren Wunsch, dasz es gelingen möge, eine Schule unter der Altmennoniten zu gründen, finde ich sehr berechtigt. Die Schule auf dem Weierhof macht unter Göbels Leitung — er ist ein ernst religiös gesinnter tüchtiger Mann — gute Fortschritte, und es wäre gut, wenn der "Herold" sie gelegentlich empfehlen könnte.

Ihre Aufsätze im Herold lese ich stets gerne, selbst wenn ich nicht überall damit einverstanden bin. Ich möchte Ihnen rathen, an H. Prof. Samuel Cramer (Nachfolger de Hoop-Scheffers) in Amsterdam und Herrn Prediger Kielstra in Middelburg (Holland), wenn es möglich ist, Gratis-Exemplare (wenigstens auf ein Jahr) zu schicken.

Es ist im Werke, das Andenken des Amos Comenius, des letzten Bischofs der böhmischen Brüder (†1671), am 28. März 1892, wo sein dreihundertjähriger Geburtstag ist, festlich zu begehen. Wollen Sie nicht gelegentlich über Comenius im Herold etwas veröffentlichen? Es ist recht nützlich, dasz Sie über Seb. Franck von Zeit zu Zeit einen Aufsatz bringen; das liegt viel mehr "auf dem alten Wege" als die methodistischen Aufsätze, welche der Bundesbote oft bringt. Ich sehe nicht ein, weshalb die Leser des Bundesboten nicht ebensogut Baptisten sein könnten (bis auf den Eid und die Wehrlosigkeit).

Mit dem besten Grusz,
Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller

XXIV

Münster, am 17. Sept. 1890

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Aus N. 17 des Herold sehe ich, dasz Ihr Buch unter der Presse ist. Ich möchte Herrn J. F. Funk, den Sie grüszen wollen, zur Erwägung anheim geben, ob er nicht versuchen will, dem Buch auch in Deutschland, Ruszland und der Schweiz, Verbreitung zu verschaffen, am besten scheint mir dies zu erreichen, wenn Sie offene Prospekte in gröszerer Zahl (an alle Gemeinden) verschicken; es braucht ja nur die Ankündigung auf s. 264 abgedruckt zu werden.

Sobald ich das Buch gelesen habe, und im Stande bin, es zu empfehlen (was ich glaube und wünsche), will ich mit meinen Freunden weiter über die Sache reden und sehen, was sich für die Verbreitung thun läszt.

Das Gem.-Blatt v. Hege u. die Menn. Bl. werden gewisz zu bewegen sein, ihren Nummern Prospekte beizulegen. Wenn das nicht allzusehr die dogmatischen Fragen (Unterscheidungslehren) betont, so lässt sich vielleicht auch in auszermennonitischen Kreisen dafür Absatz finden.

Ich bitte Sie, dem Capitel über "den gegenwärtigen Stand der Gemeinde" besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken; wir sind darüber trotz Mannhardts "Jahrb. der altev. Taufges." noch immer nicht genügend unterrichtet; gerade dies wird auch für Fernstehende werthvoll sein.

Wollen Sie für das "Bücher-Verzeichnisz zur Gesch. der *altevang. Gemeinden*" (ich bitte, diesen Namen zu verwenden) nicht die Ueberschrift bei Mannhardt, Jahrb. d. altev. Taufges. berücksichtigen?

Mit freundlichem Grusz
Dr. Keller

Es studieren unter meiner Leitung jetzt zwei junge Mennoniten in Münster, die H. H. Georg Wiebe aus Mohrungen in Westpreuszen u. Alex. Franz aus Berlin; ich freue mich, dasz die deut. Gemeinden mir das Vertrauen schenken, sie hierher zu schicken.

Wollen Sie nicht auch ein Verzeichnisz der Zeitschriften u. Blätter beifügen? Durch einige Notizen über Quäker, Schwenkfelder, General-Baptists, Hutterische Brüder u.s.w. würden Sie viele Leser sicherlich zu Dank verpflichten und bei diesen Gemeinschaften Interesse für Ihr Buch wecken.

XXV

Münster, am 28. Dec. 1890

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Längst würde ich Ihnen für die Zusendung Ihrer "Gesch. d. Mennoniten" gedankt haben, wenn mich nicht Arbeiten aller Art und Unwohlsein abgehalten hätten. Ich habe das kleine Buch mit Interesse gelesen, und

hoffe, dasz es in Amerika dazu beitragen wird, das Interesse der Menn. an ihre eigene Geschichte zu heben. Einzelnes sähe ich freilich zwar anders wiedergegeben, z. B. müszte es berichtigt werden, dasz Staupitz Waldenser gewesen sei; das läszt sich nicht nachweisen, ist sogar unwahrscheinlich, wenn er auch viele ihrer Ansichten getheilt hat. Besonders interessiert hat mich die Uebersicht der Handschriften S. 127ff. Aber *wo* finden sich diese Handschriften und ist Hoffnung vorhanden, dasz das wichtigere davon (z. B. die Schriften Schlaffers und Schiemers und die Lieder) einmal gedruckt werden wird?

Ich wünsche dem Büchlein den besten Erfolg und habe es auch schon empfohlen, besonders einem jungen Mennoniten, Herrn Al. Franz, der hier im Staatsarchiv arbeitet und der ein befähigter junger Mann ist.

Im Groszen und Ganzen regt es sich doch auf manchen Seiten; aber von dem alten opferbereiten Taüfergeist zeigen sich doch wenige Spuren. Es scheint mir namentlich, dasz in Holland das geistliche Leben fast erstorben ist; auch in Deutschland zeigt sich das jetzige System, wodurch die Prediger von der Einzelgemeinde ihre Besoldung empfangen, insofern nachtheilige Seiten als diese besoldeten Pastoren der Natur der Sache nach minder selbständig auftreten können als unbesoldete; sie sind gezwungen, sich der Richtung der maszgebenden Personen mehr oder weniger anzuschliessen und deren Vorgang in allen Dingen abzuwarten und dadurch kommen aber viele Angelegenheiten ins Stocken; die Vorsteher erwarten den Anfang von der Predigern, die Prediger von den Vorstehern und so bleibt alles beim Alten. Wenn besoldete Prediger unvermeidlich sind, so sollten sie nur von der Gesammtgemeinde, aber nicht von der Einzelgemeinde ihr Geld empfangen; wie die Dinge heute liegen, ist dies freilich deshalb unmöglich, weil es keine Gesammtgemeinde, und keine gemeinsame Kasse mehr gibt.

Der liebe Gott bessere es! Hoffentlich geht es Ihnen gut. Mit den besten Wünschen für Sie und Ihre Arbeiten.

Ihr ergebener
L. Keller.

Wir haben die Absicht, aus Anlasz der am 28. März 1892 bevorstehenden Comenius-Feier eine wiss. Gesellschaft zu gründen, welche auch die Geschichte der altevang. Gemeinden erforschen soll. Ich sende Ihnen einige Drucksachen und bitte Sie, der Sache Freunde zuzuführen, wenn Sie können.

XXVI

Münster, am 27. Sept. 1893.

Geehrter Herr Horsch!

Vielen Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 3. Juni und die Übersendung Ihrer kleinen Schrift.[55] Ich möchte doch nicht unterlassen, Ihnen zu sagen, dasz ich die letztere mit vieler Zustimmung gelesen habe; möge sie eine recht weite Verbreitung finden. Wir werden sie jedenfalls in den Schriften der Comenius-Gesellschaft anzeigen. Ich würde überhaupt sehr gern mehr und mehr gerade die Geschichte der altev. Gemeinden berücksichtigen, wenn die Mitwirkung der holl. u. deut. Mennoniten (die dies allein möglich machen würde) nicht so auszerordentlich gering wäre. Ich ernte in der That sehr wenig Dank für das, was ich gethan habe; Gott bessere es! Ich denke oft an die Thränen, die einst Menno Simons über seine Brüder geweint hat.

Über das Lebenszeichen, das Sie mir geschickt haben, habe ich mich, wie gesagt, gefreut; hoffentlich geht es Ihnen gut. Grüszen Sie Herrn

Cornelius Janssen in Beatrice und seine Familie; er gehört zu den Wenigen, die sich meiner in Freundschaft u. Treue erinnern.

Mit freundlichem Grusz

Ihr ergebener
Ludwig Keller.

Den Herold erhalte ich regelmäszig. Besten Dank.

Ich empfehle Ihrer u. Ihrer Brüder Unterstützung Herrn Ph. Kieferndorf in Monsheim b. Worms; er ist eine vielversprechende Kraft von aufrichtiger, selbstloser Hingabe.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

V

Münster, Sept. 22, 1886

My dear Mr. Horsch,

Your kind letter of Aug. 4, for which I thank you, reached me on a journey. Otherwise I would have replied sooner.

I am very happy that you have proceeded so energetically in the matter of the *Deutsche Theologie,* and I pray God that He may bless your decision. Whatever I can contribute to the distribution of the pamphlet (e.g. by recommendations in the periodicals) shall be done, for with you I wish these ideas to become a more common possession again. You have hit my conviction exactly when you say that the Mennonites of today are too far removed from the ideas of the "Friends of God" and have too closely approached Lutheranism. Therein lies the key to the frequently stressed and in your circles oft lamented phenomenon that for a century or more Mennonitism has grown no new shoots and has revealed no independent inner strength to propagate itself. If the Mennonites do not care or are incapable of being anything but a mild variety of Lutheranism, which is distinguished from it only by adult baptism and the oath, they cannot be surprised if gradually one after the other unites with the big church. That has actually been the situation. I rejoice, however, to note the endeavor in many places to recall to the Mennonites those times when the old congregations showed their greatest power for growth. One of the most respected preachers of North Germany recently wrote me, "Back to the times before 1535 must be our watchword," and that is also my conviction and I believe Mr. U. Hege is also in agreement.

You are exactly right in believing that the best way to get there is by renewal of the old literature. But I do not believe that it would be to the purpose to publish as you suggest the *Nachfolgung des armen Lebens Christi* or *Das Buch von der geistlichen Armuth* (as the sequel is also called) after the *Deutsche Theologie.* Who would want to translate the book? Besides, it originated not so much from "Friends of God" circles as from Franciscan; and there are other reasons. I would rather suggest that you seriously consider Joh. von Staupitz's book *Von der wahren Liebe* (cf. Keller, *Waldenser,* p. 29). We can, of course, take time to think it over, for we must first wait and see whether there are friends for the *Deutsche Theologie,* which will probably take time, for Lutheran confessionalism is growing increasingly stronger. Have you not thought of a translation of the story of Tauler's conversion? Some of Tauler's sermons are also very suitable for mass distribution. Later on some things by Eckhart and Denck would have to be added. I am sending you today a

manuscript copy of the *Ordnung Gottes,* which will surely interest you; please have a part of it printed some time in the *Gemeinde-Blatt.*

The enclosed notice concerning Denck's view of the Deity of Christ please send to Mr. U. Hege after you have examined it.

You are entirely right when you say: If we only had a seminary for preachers, so that our preachers would not have to receive their further training in other institutions! The congregations in North Germany and the Palatinate are striving toward that goal. But to me the development of a system of circulating preachers who would be like *missionaries* in Germany seems equally important.

I cannot understand why the idea of a *German mission* has never been expressed anywhere. It is, to be sure, the sacred duty of every brotherhood to carry on missions, but it is altogether wrong to have so narrow a concept of the word mission that it can mean only a mission among Negroes and Indians. It is so necessary in our immediate neighborhood to work for the conversion of men to God, that I have always asked why a brotherhood that could do so much to build itself up and to awaken others spends and exhausts its financial strength in the conversion of Dutch subjects in Java? And why only the Dutch Indians and Negroes; why not at least German Negroes or heathen? I do not see that the Dutch are inclined to contribute money for German purposes; on the contrary I see that the German churches are bearing almost *half* of the costs of maintaining the Dutch Mennonite mission, although they have scarcely one-tenth of the wealth of the Dutch.

A fund should be created for "German missions" and evangelism and the six or seven thousand marks that now wander to Java should be used to establish the old churches in the homeland. This would be a work pleasing to God, fraught with blessing, and most promising.

The Waldenses in Italy do not think of converting Negroes, but they convert their own countrymen; why do the Mennonites follow the example of the Lutherans instead of the Waldenses in this matter? Later on mission work among the heathen could be resumed so much the more powerfully. But first the foundations of one's own house must be established.

With friendly greeting
Ludwig Keller.

P.S. Do you by chance have a copy of the *Formularbuch* which was printed in 1807 by J. T. Haupt on the basis of the decisions of the great Ibersheim conferences of 1803 and 1805?

I am looking for another edition of the *Ausbund.* You were once so kind as to offer me one; if it is possible for you to get it, I would be grateful and would gladly render some service in return.

Are there no Testaments in your circles which offer any other translation than the Lutheran? This matter is very important; for a return to the old Waldensian Bible in the future must be kept in view.

XIII

Münster, Aug. 21, 1887

Dear Mr. Horsch,

I have read with great interest your letter of July 1, which I received shortly before my departure for Hamburg (where I spent several weeks and had various discussions with preachers of your church). In my interest in your church, past and present, your information is valuable to me, and I would appreciate any later additions. Could you not some time

compile a directory of your congregations, bishops, elders, and preachers there, even if it at first includes only your own branch?

In the meantime I have read the last numbers of the *Herold,* for the regular coming of which I am grateful, with mounting interest, and I greet with joy your systematic return to the beautiful old writings of Tauler and the *Deutsche Theologie.* In order to be able to proceed effectively it would, of course, be absolutely necessary to bring to light systematically these old writings of the "Friends of God," many of which still repose hidden in libraries and archives. A plan is now under discussion to found a *Society for the Study of the History of the Old-Evangelical Churches* which is to present the old literature. For this undertaking we need the co-operation of the Mennonites of all countries and all branches, and I am sure that great blessing would proceed from it for your churches, and that many from other denominations would be attracted. I myself came upon this way only through the old literature and history with God's help. A society of this kind would be responsible only for the promotion of research; publication would have to follow later through periodicals and Mennonite publishers.

If it is possible for you to lead the *Herold der Wahrheit* on the way it has now taken (perhaps you could reproduce Sebastian Franck's and Schwenckfeld's works besides Denck's and likewise print some things from Joh. Deknatel and Jacob Denner) and then if you could open your columns to concerns of the German, Swiss, Russian, and Dutch Mennonites, I would have hope of being able to promote your cause in Europe. In Europe a large field will open to your churches in time (the Baptists and Methodists have long recognized this and acted accordingly) if you are successful in regaining the half-lost contact with your brethren over here. In Europe there is a willingness to form connections with you; as soon as you take some accommodating steps the ice will be broken. Would your churches, for example, be willing to send representatives to a general conference in 1890 in Berlin? Just as in the "Evangelical Alliance" Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, etc., meet from time to time, the Mennonites of various branches could join with the Quakers, Schwenkfelders, Arminians, Remonstrants, Dunkers, several branches of the General Baptists, the Hutterian Brethren, several wings of the Presbyterians, etc., in brief all the parties that grew out of old Anabaptism, in an "Old-Evangelical Alliance."

Think this matter over with your friends. It is a great, but fine task. Can you give me any details about the Dunkers?

Their leading periodicals are said to be:

(1) The Primitive Christian and Pilgrim, Huntington, Pa.
(2) The Progressive Christian, Berlin, Somerset Co., Pa.
(3) The Gospel Preacher, Ashland, Ohio.
(4) The Brethren Advocate, Waynesboro, Franklin Co., Pa.
(5) Der Bruder-Bote, Iowa.

Do you not receive these periodicals as exchanges?

Can you give me no information on the Christians (Campbellites)? I should like to become acquainted with some of their periodicals. An address is, as I have heard, Central Christian Church, 12th Street, above Wallace, Philadelphia.

It would be very profitable if you could produce and distribute Denck's booklet *Von der wahren Liebe* in a new edition. If I can be of service to you I will gladly do it.

Your making contacts with the Hutterian Brethren is very useful. How remarkable that they still have letters from Hans Denck. Could I get copies of them?

Concerning translation into English, I should like to see the lecture translated. What do you think about it?

Did your father (or is it your uncle?) die in Gelchsheim? I sympathize sincerely in this great trial, which has also struck in Baden, and ask God to comfort all the bereaved.

Sincere greetings
Ludw. Keller

Today I shipped your books to H. C. Meyer, Bremen. Will you not reprint the request of H. G. Mannhardt in No. 14 of the *Rundschau* (semimonthly issue) of Aug. 15, 1887 in the *Herold*?

XXI

Münster, Nov. 15, 1889

My dear Mr. Horsch,

I regret that I have been unable to answer your lines of July 22 and Sept. 19 until today; I have made several trips and had many other things to do. I am glad to see from the last number of the *Herold,* which has just arrived, that with God's help you are continuing on the road you have taken, unconfused by opposition and attack. I think the publication of more historical articles is entirely right; the extracts from M. Claudius, Joh. Arndt, Seb. Franck are excellent and opportune; I only wish the other Mennonite papers would publish similar extracts instead of reporting continuously only on Sunday schools and foreign missions; also the article on baptism that you wrote I find entirely in the spirit of the old Anabaptists; your reference to the Quakers is absolutely right.

For some years a fresh spirit has undeniably been going through all your churches; to be sure it is merely fermenting now and opinions are not yet clarified; but there is a general feeling that it cannot continue as it has been heretofore and that there must be a change. The former conditions offered a zealous brotherhood like the Baptists an excellent opportunity to make proselytes among the Mennonites, and it does not surprise me at all that they are succeeding. Nevertheless I am sorry that so many Mennonites are forsaking the traditions of their fathers, and I would consider it far better if instead of seceding to the Baptists they would study their own history and in it try to find love and affection for their church.

To me it is certain, that if the loss to the Baptists, Methodists, etc. is to be prevented, at least a number of determined and pious men must unite, who have the courage to say what is necessary; it cannot be expected that all will co-operate, and there will be no lack of opposition, but where has any good thing been accomplished in the world without opposition?

I do not mean that those men should at once step into the open with articles and essays; a personal approach and mutual understanding must precede, above all on the question of determining a center or fixed point around which one could rally. I would consider a *school* (approximately like the Weierhof) very important.

The best history of dogma that we now possess is Ad. Harnack's (Freiburg i.Br. Mohr, 2. Aufl. 1886); it follows least the spirit of the established Church and is written entirely without prejudice on the basis of a pure striving for truth, and has therefore been frequently attacked. In

addition I recommend to you as the best introduction into questions of (Bible) criticism, Holtzmann, H. J., *Histor.-Kritische Einleitung in das Neue Test.,* Frbrg. i.Br. 1886, 2. Aufl. As a church history the old *Arnold* is still to be recommended.

With best greeting
Your devoted
Ludwig Keller.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF JOHN HORSCH

COMPILED BY EDWARD YODER (†1945)

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

HW—HEROLD DER WAHRHEIT (Elkhart)
Published by the Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana 1864-1901 (at Chicago 1864-67, monthly to 1899, thereafter semi-monthly. John Horsch appears on the masthead as second assistant editor September 15, 1891 to June 1, 1895. Semi-official German organ of the Mennonite Church, counterpart of the *Herald of Truth.*

HW—HEROLD DER WAHRHEIT (Scottdale)
Published by the Amish Mennonite Publishing Association at Scottdale, Pa., 1912- , semi-monthly. Semi-official organ of the Old Order Amish and Conservative Amish.

HT—HERALD OF TRUTH (Elkhart)
Published by the Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana 1864-1908 (at Chicago 1864-67), monthly 1864-1881, semi-monthly 1882-1903, weekly 1903-1908. Semi-official organ of the Mennonite Church.

MR—MENNONITISCHE RUNDSCHAU (Elkhart)
Published by the Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, 1880-1908, then by the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, 1908-1923, thereafter by the Rundschau Publishing House, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Semi-monthly to 1883, thereafter weekly.

GW—GOSPEL WITNESS (Scottdale)
Published by the Gospel Witness Publishing Co. at Scottdale 1905-1908, weekly.

GH—GOSPEL HERALD (Scottdale)
Published by the Mennonite Publishing House weekly since 1908. Official organ of the Mennonite Church.

CM—CHRISTIAN MONITOR (Scottdale)
Published by the M.P.H. monthly since 1909.

FA—FAMILY ALMANAC (Elkhart and Scottdale)
Published annually 1870-1908 at Elkhart, since then at Scottdale.

FK—FAMILIENKALENDER (Elkhart and Scottdale)
Published annually, like the *Family Almanac,* its English counterpart.

Menn. Y & D—MENNONITE YEARBOOK & DIRECTORY (Scottdale)
Published annually at Scottdale 1905-1909, and 1913 to date.

MWR—MENNONITE WEEKLY REVIEW (Newton, Kansas)
Published weekly by the Herald Publishing Company at Newton, Kansas since 1922.

Christlicher GK—CHRISTLICHER GEMEINDE-KALENDER (Germany)
Published annually by the South German Mennonites 1892-1941.

MQR—MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW (Goshen, Indiana)
Published Quarterly by the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana since 1927.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S PAPER (Elkhart)
Published bi-weekly by the M.P.Co. 1894-1906.

A. *Articles in Periodicals*

"Nachfolge Christi"
HW. xxiv, 161, 162 (June, 1887)
Signed "J.H., Elkhart, Ind." This is the first article in H.W. signed with these initials. At its conclusion the writer, who was undoubtedly John Horsch, promises that, if God wills, future articles and materials drawn from the older writings and the history of the church will be published in HW.

"Die badisch-württembergisch-bayerische Gesammt (Mennoniten) -Gemeinde
HW, xxiv, 165 (June 1, 1887). *Signed* "J. H."

"Hans Denk"
HW. xxiv, 163, 164; 181, 182; 195, 196; 211, 212; 226, 227; 244, 245; 258, 259 (June 1 to September 1, 1887, inclusive).
Unsigned, but manifestly related to the promise made at the conclusion of the article on page 162 of the same volume.

"Heiligung"
HW. xxiv, 177 (June 15, 1887) *Signed* "J.H."
"Gnade und Gnadenmittel"
HW. xxiv, 181 (June 15, 1887) *Signed* "J.H."
"Sparsamkeit und Wohlthätigkeit"
HW. xxiv, 194, 195 (July 1, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Wie kann Geholfen werden?"
HW. xxiv, 199 (July 1, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Drei mennonitische Fragebücher"
HW. xxiv, 203 (July 1, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Gedanken über Erziehung"
HW. xxiv, 212, 213 (July 15, 1887) *Signed* "J.H."
"Versöhnung—Erlösung"
HW. xxiv, 215 (July 15, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Zur Gesangbuchfrage"
HW. xxiv, 225 (August 1, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Ist Heiligung nothwendig?"
HW. xxiv, 242, 243, (August 15, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Warum treiben wir keine Mission?"
HW. xxiv, 321, 322 (November 1, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Zur Fuszwaschung"
HW. xxiv, 339 (November 15, 1887) *Signed* "J.H."
"Nachrichten aus unserer Gemeinde"
HW. xxiv, 343 (November 15, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Mennoniten und Baptisten"
HW. xxiv, 347 (November 15, 1887) *Signed* "J.H."
"Eine alte Predigt zur Feier des hl. Abendmahles"
HW. xxiv, 347, 348; xxv, 22, 23; 117-119; 188, 189 (November 15, 1887; January 15, April 15, June 15, 1888)
John Horsch was the editor and sponsor of this article, as is evident from the signed footnotes, xxv, 117, 118.
"Ist unsere Gemeinde heute in gutem Zustande?"
HW. xxiv, 353, 354 (December 1, 1887) *Signed* "J.H."
"Wann wurde Instrumentalmusik beim Gottesdienst eingeführt?"
HW. xxiv, 358 (December 1, 1887) *Signed* "H."
"Auszüge aus Denk's Büchlein: Die Ordnung Gottes"
HW. xxiv, 357, 358 (December 1, 1887)
(unsigned article. Contributed by Horsch, according to a letter written by Dr. Keller to Horsch; reported by R. Friedmann)
"Die Taufe"
HW. xxiv, 369, 370 (December 15, 1887) *Signed* "J.H."
"Zur Berechtigung"
HW. xxv, 4, 5 (January 1, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
This article is an addendum to that published in HW. xxiv, 358.
"Johann Denk und die alten Märtyrerbrüder"
HW. xxv, 19, 20 (January 15, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Zur Fuszwaschung"
HW. xxv, 20 (January 15, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Die Kreuzzüge"
HW. xxv, 22 (January 15, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Mose"
HW. xxv, 38, 39 (February 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Allerlei zum Nachdenken"
HW. xxv, 51, 52 (February 15, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Ueber die Meidung"
HW. xxv, 69 (March 1, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Was ist die Ursache?"
HW. xxv, 82 (March 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Gottesdienst und Opfer"
HW. xxv, 84, 85 (March 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Brüder, oder Herren?"
HW. xxv, 85, 86 (March 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Eine Ausgabe des Fundamentbuches Menno's"
HW. xxv, 87 (March 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Letzte Worte"
HW. xxv, 91, 92 (March 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."

"Der Name 'Joseph'"
HW. xxv, 106 (April 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Die Kindertaufe"
HW. xxv, 113, 114 (April 15, 1888)
This is the first article signed with the full name, "Joh. Horsch."
"Jugendunterricht"
HW. xxv, 114, 115 (April 15, 1888)
"Gemeineuntersuchung (Umfrage)"
HW. xxv, 130, 131 (May 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Rechtfertigung und Heiligung"
HW. xxv, 132, 133, 149 (May 1, 15, 1888)
"Wehrlosigkeit"
HW. xxv, 145, 146; 163; 179 (May 15, June 1, June 15, 1888). *Signed* "J.H."
"Tabakbrauchen"
HW. xxv, 148 (May 15, 1888)
"Apostel und Evangelisten"
HW. xxv, 151 (May 15, 1888)
"Apostel in den ersten Gemeinden"
HW. xxv, 164, 165 (June 1, 1888)
"'Der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamm"
HW. xxv, 166 (June 1, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Einheit in der Gemeinde Gottes"
HW. xxv, 177 (June 15, 1888)
"Wir hoffen das Beste"
HW. xxv, 181, 182 (June 15, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Zur Sonntagfeier"
HW. xxv, 193, 194 (July 1, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Nochmals über Wehrlosigkeit"
HW. xxv, 209, 210 (July 15, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Was musz ich thun, dasz ich selig werde?"
HW. xxv, 212, 213; 226, 227; 243; 276 (July 15, August 1, 15, September 15, 1888)
Signed "H."
"Gedanken über Mission"
HW. xxv, 241, 242 (August 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Haltet ihn als einen Heiden und Zöllner"
HW. xxv, 245 (August 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Wahres und falsches Christenthum"
HW. xxv, 246, 247 (August 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Abgötterei"
HW. xxv, 257, 258 (September 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber Luxus und Weltgleichstellung"
HW. xxv, 273-275 (September 15, 1888)
"Können wir es wissen?"
HW. xxv, 289, 290 (October 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Nicht viele Weise nach dem Fleisch sind berufen"
HW. xxv, 292, 293 (October 1, 1888) *Signed* "J.H."
"Er wird sein Volk selig machen von ihren Sünden"
HW. xxv, 324 (November 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Christenthum und Kirchenthum"
HW. xxv, 338, 339 (November 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Fromme und getreue Knechte"
HW. xxv, 340, 341 (November 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Zum Danksagungstag"
HW. xxv, 347 (November 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Der natürliche Mensch"
HW. xxv, 347, 348 (November 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Glaube, Aberglaube, Unglaube"
HW. xxv, 348, 349 (November 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Unsere Vernunft"
HW. xxv, 354 (December 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber Dogmen"
HW. xxv, 356, 357 (December 1, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Verdienst oder Gnade"
HW. xxv, 370 (December 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber Mission"
HW. xxv, 372, 373 (December 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."

"Was nützen uns die Saloons?"
HW. xxv, 373 (December 15, 1888) *Signed* "H."
"Aberglaube"
HW. xxvi, 6 (January 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Gastfreundschaft"
HW. xxvi, 10 (January 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber Eidschwören und Wehrlosigkeit"
HW. xxvi, 20 (January 15, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Die christliche Taufe"
HW. xxvi, 22, 23 (January 15, 1889) *Signed* "J.H."
"Warum hat ein Sünder Bekehrung nothwendig?"
HW. xxvi, 33 (February 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Vernunftreligion"
HW. xxvi, 34 (February 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Das 'apostolische' Glaubensbekenntnisz"
HW. xxvi, 35 (February 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Was die Gelehrten sagen"
HW. xxvi, 36 (February 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Kirche und Ketzer"
HW. xxvi, 37 (February 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Vom Falle Adams"
HW. xxvi, 38 (February 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Nochmals über die Vernunft"
HW. xxvi, 50, 51 (February 15, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Es ist hier kein Unterschied"
HW. xxvi, 52 (February 15, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Das Reich Gottes kommt nicht mit äuszerlichen Geberden"
HW. xxvi, 67 (March 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber Missionsarbeit"
HW. xxvi, 68 (March 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber das Gebet"
HW. xxvi, 69 (March 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Prüfet die Geister"
HW. xxvi, 74 (March 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber die Taufe"
HW. xxvi, 75, 76 (March 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
That the article was written by John Horsch is clear from comparing pages 322-323 in the same volume of HW.
"Die Waffen unserer Ritterschaft sind nicht fleischlich," "Versuchung Christi," "Warum Christus von den Juden verlangte, dasz sie an Ihn glaubten," "Kopf und Herz," "Königliche Priester"
HW. xxvi, 83, 85-87 (March 15, 1889) *All signed* "H."
"Die Bibel"
HW. xxvi, 115 (April 15, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Buchstabe und Geist"
HW. xxvi, 132 (May 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Leo N. Tolstoi's Religion"
HW. xxvi, 148 (May 15, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Kreuz," "Was ist Wahrheit?" "Das Evangelium," "Niemand kann zwei Herren dienen"
HW. xxvi, 161, 162, 164, 171 (June 1, 1889) *All signed* "H."
"Die Wahrheit," "Schildbürgerei," "Allgemeine Conferenz der Alt-Mennoniten-Gemeinde," "In einer lutherischen Kirche"
HW. xxvi, 178, 180, 181, 187, 188 (June 15, 1889) *All signed* "H."
"Was wir glauben," "Kostbare Kirchen"
HW. xxvi, 196-198 (July 1, 1889) *Both signed* "H."
"Christi Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt," "Was die Bibel von der Bibel lehrt," "Nichts gesundes am alten Menschen"
HW. xxvi, 210, 211, 213 (July 15, 1889) *All signed* "H."
"Brief an Amos"
HW. xxvi, 220, 221; 228, 229 (July 15, August 1, 1889) *The first signed* "J.H.", *the second* "H."
"Etliche Bibelstellen über die Taufe"
HW. xxvi, 226 (August 1, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"Sind alle Heiden verloren?"
HW. xxvi, 241, 242 (August 15, 1889)

"Der Unterschied zwischen der Bibel und dem Koran"
HW. xxvi, 243 (August 15, 1889)
"Wer ist der Doctor?"
HW. xxvi, 244-246 (August 15, 1889)
"Geschichte der christlichen Lehre"
HW. xxvi, 252 (August 15, 1889)
"Gott versöhnete die Welt mit sich selber"
HW. xxvi, 250, 251 (August 15, 1889)
"Conferenz-Verhandlungen"
HW. xxvi, 247 (August 15, 1889)
"Ueber das Verhältnisz unserer Gemeinde zu anderen Gemeinden"
HW. xxvi, 257 (Sept. 1, 1889)
"Ohne Flecken oder Runzel"
HW. xxvi, 260 (Sept. 1, 1889)
"Giebt es gerechte Kriege?"
HW. xxvi, 260, 261 (Sept. 1, 1889)
"Von Gott berufen oder nicht?"
HW. xxvi, 261 (Sept. 1, 1889)
"Die Waldenser"
HW. xxvi, 262, 263; 277, 278 (September 1, 15, 1889).
This article is extensively documented with footnote references to sources, and at its close announces the beginning of the lengthy series of articles in the *Herold der Wahrheit* with the next following number. *It is signed* "J.H."
"Zur Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinden"
HW. xxvi, 289, 290, 305, 306, 321, 322, 337, 338, 353, 354, 369-371, xxvii, 4, 5, 17, 18, 209, 210, 225, 226, 241, 242, 273, 289, 290, 305, 306, 321-323, 369, 370, xxviii, 3, 4, 17, 18, 51, 52, 65, 66 (October 1, 1889—January 15, 1890; July 15, 1890—August 15, 1890; Sept. 15, 1890—Nov. 1, 1890; Dec. 15, 1890—January 15, 1891; Feb. 15 and March 1, 1891)
"Inwieweit ist das Gesetz im neuen Bunde aufgehoben?"
HW. xxvi, 308, 309 (October 15, 1889)
"Nochmals eine Erklärung"
HW. xxvi, 322, 323 (November 1, 1889)
"Ueber den Willen"
HW. xxvi, 325, 326 (November 1, 1889)
"Ueber die Bekämpfung des Unglaubens"
HW. xxvi, 339 (November 15, 1889)
"Die christliche Kirche"
HW. xxvi, 355 (December 1, 1889)
"Spener und die pietistischen Streitigkeiten"
HW. xxvi, 373, 374 (December 15, 1889) *Signed* "H."
"In welchem Verhältnisz steht das Alte Testament zum Neuen?"
HW. xxvii, 6, 7 (January 1, 1890)
"Ueber den Eidschwur"
HW. xxvii, 10, 11 (January 1, 1890)
"Welche Priester und Theologen sind gemeint?"
HW. xxvii, 54 (February 15, 1890) *Signed* "J.H."
"Was wir wissen"
HW. xxvii, 68 (March 1, 1890)
"Gnadenmittel und Sacramente"
HW. xxvii, 116, 117 (April 15, 1890)
"Kein Gewissenszwang"
HW. xxvii, 122, 123 (April 15, 1890)
"Sebastian Franck"
HW. xxvii, 117, 118, 196, 197, 212, 213 (April 15, July 1, 15, 1890)
"Christoph Saur, Vater und Sohn, die ersten deutschen Drucker in Pennsylvanien"
HW. xxvii, 118, 150 (April 15, May 15, 1890) *Signed* "H."
"Ob man die Versammlungshäuser einweihen soll?"
HW. xxvii, 146, 147 (May 15, 1890)
"Ob die Verhältnisse wieder günstiger werden?"
HW. xxvii, 148, 149 (May 15, 1890)
"Ob sich Gott heute noch dem einzelnen Menschen besonders offenbart?"
HW. xxvii, 162, 163 (June 1, 1890)

"Fortschritte oder Rückschritte"
HW. xxvii, 164, 165 (June 1, 1890)
"Sollen wir Confessionen haben?"
HW. xxvii, 179 (June 15, 1890)
"Ob der Zweck die Mittel heilige?"
HW. xxvii, 228 (August 1, 1890)
"Aus einem mennonitischen (?) Formularbuch"
HW. xxvii, 235, 236 (August 1, 1890)
"Eine Ceremonie," "Heilige Päpste"
HW. xxvii, 243, 247 (August 15, 1890). *Both signed* "H."
"Schulbildung"
HW. xxvii, 244 (August 15, 1890)
"Die Fuszwaschung"
HW. xxvii, 244, 245 (August 15, 1890)
"Erfüllst du deine Pflichten gegen deine Kinder?"
HW. xxvii, 254 (August 15, 1890) *Signed* "J.H."
"Die Taufe"
HW. xxvii, 257, 258 (September 1, 1890)
"Ob die Gebote des alten Bundes auch den Christen gelten?"
HW. xxvii, 259 (September 1, 1890)
"Christliche Glaubenslehre oder menschliche Meinungen"
HW. xxvii, 260 (September 1, 1890)
"Menno und die Kindertaufe"
HW. xxvii, 261 (September 1, 1890)
"Das Gute, das aus der Möglichkeit zum Sündigen folgt"
HW. xxvii, 262 (September 1, 1890)
"Ein verloren geglaubtes wichtiges Buch"
HW. xxvii, 263 (September 1, 1890) *Signed* "J.H."
"Christus der einige Grund unserer Seligkeit"
HW. xxvii, 274, 275 (September 15, 1890) *Signed* "H."
"Luther über den Jacobusbrief"
HW. xxvii, 276 (September 15, 1890) *Signed* "J.H."
"Eine kleine Ferienreise"
Bereaner, (Nov. 1890)
"Glaubst du das?"
HW. xxvii, 353, 354 (December 1, 1890) *Signed* "H."
"Studierte und besoldete Prediger"
HW. xxvii, 355 (December 1, 1890)
"Ein Gespräch mit einem katholischen Priester"
HW. xxvii, 370-372 (December 15, 1890)
"Was sagt Christus dazu?"
HW. xxviii, 18-20 (January 15, 1891)
"Der wahre Sachverhalt"
HW. xxviii, 20, 21 (January 15, 1891) *The address, Berea, Ohio, is appended.*
"Die Altevangelischen Taufgesinnten und die Münsterschen Wiedertäufer"
HW. xxviii, 81-83, 98-101, 161-163 (March 15, April 1, June 1, 1891)
"Der wehrlose Grund"
HW. xxviii, 85-87 (March 15, 1891) *Signed* "J.H."
"Ein Religionskrieg"
HW. xxviii, 106-108; 117, 118 (April 1, 15, 1891) *Signed* "J.H."
"Der Schächer am Kreuz," "Adin Ballou und seine Gemeinde"
HW. xxviii, 108 (April 1, 1891) *Both signed* "H."
"Ueber die Kindertaufe"
HW. xxviii, 115 (April 15, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Wer ist der Antichrist?"
HW. xxviii, 131, 132 (May 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber das Betheiligung an den politischen Wahlen und Jurydienst"
HW. xxviii, 149, 150 (May 15, 1891)
"Ueber die Brüdergemeinde des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts"
HW. xxviii, 154 (May 15, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Die Waldenserbibel"
HW. xxviii, 163, 164 (June 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Peter Chelcicky's Lehre"
HW. xxviii, 179, 180; 197, 198 (June 15, July 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Mennonitische Unterscheidungslehren"
HW. xxviii, 193, 194 (July 1, 1891)

"Mennoniten in Preuszen im vorigen Jahrhundert," "Wie ist das Böse entstanden?"
HW. xxviii, 195, 196; 198, 199 (July 1, 1891) *Both signed* "H."
"Peter von Bruys und die Petrobrusianer," "Die Sonntagschule eine altevangelische Einrichtung," "Johann Wiclif und die Wiclifiten oder Lollharden"
HW. xxviii, 243, 244 (August 15, 1891) *All signed* "H."
"Eine geplante Vereinigung aller Mennoniten," "Ein ungerechter Krieg," "Musikalische Instrumente in Versammlungshäusern," "Ueber den Eid"
HW. xxviii, 259, 260; 262, 263; 267; 268 (September 1, 1891) *All signed* "H."
"Kurze Dogmengeschichte der römischen Kirche," "Der 'heilige Rock' in Trier"
HW. xxviii, 274-276 (September 15, 1891) *Both signed* "H."
"Unterschied zwischen dem Alten und Neuen Bunde"
HW. xxviii, 291-293 (October 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Der Krieg 'ein organisirter Massenmord,'" "Die Religion und das Christenthum erst in zweiter Linie," "Ein Büchlein über den Eid"
HW. xxviii, 305, 306; 307; 310, 311 (October 15, 1891) *All signed* "H."
"Eine Bibelstellung über die Meidung"
HW. xxviii, 322, 323 (November 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
A reply to this article appeared in HW. xxix, 4, 5, with an extended note appended by "H."
"Der arme Mann,"
HW. xxviii, 324, 325 (November 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
An article chiefly based on Jung-Stilling.
"Ein Gebot Christi"
HW. xxviii, 356, 357 (December 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Eine Antwort auf die in No. 20 des *Herold* gestellten Fragen"
HW. xxviii, 354-356 (December 1, 1891) *Signed* "H."
The article in question pertains to the subject of nonresistance.
"Ernst von Wildenbruch's "Menonit" in America
HW. xxviii, 372, 373 (December 15, 1891) *Signed* "H."
"Die Gemeine Christi und der Staat,"
HW. xxix, 50, 51 (February 15, 1892) *Signed* "H."
"Wehrpflichtig oder wehrlos?"
HW. xxix, 66-68 (March 1, 1892) *Signed* "H."
"Religiöse Kriegsleute"
HW. xxix, 99 (April 1, 1892) *Signed* "H."
"Christliche Ceremonien"
HW. xxix, 131, 132 (May 1, 1892) *Signed* "H."
"Sind die hutterischen Brüder zu den Mennoniten zu zählen?"
HW. xxix, 166 (June 1, 1892) *Signed* "H."
"Gegen Kleiderputz und Hochmuth," "Wehrlosigkeit der Vereinigten-Brüder-Kirche"
HW. xxix, 177; 178 (June 15, 1892) *Both signed* "H."
"Der Christ und die Obrigkeit," "Mennoniten-Religion"
HW. xxix, 211, 212; 215 (July 15, 1892) *Both signed* "H."
The latter article combats something that appeared in the *Lutheraner*.
"Haben wir eine höhere theologische Schule nothwendig?" "Ueber die angebliche Abnahme unserer Gemeinde," "Otto Funcke über Ausstellungen," "Warum unsere Prediger keine Sünden vergeben"
HW. xxix, 274-276, 278 (September 15, 1892) *All signed* "H."
"Ueber den Genusz starker Getränke"
HW. xxix, 289, 290 (October 1, 1892) *Signed* "H."
"Kleidung des Christen"
HW. xxx, 3, 4 (January 1, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"Unser Einflusz," "Ueber Gemeinde-Ordnungen," "Hochschulbildung und Bibellehre"
HW. xxx, 17-19 (January 15, 1893) *All signed* "H."
"Ueber Glocken in Kirchen"
HW. xxx, 51 (February 15, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"Ein Brief von Nathanael über Beleidigungen"
HW. xxx, 85, 86 (March 15, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"Stadtmission in Chicago," "Unter dem Mantel der Kunst"
HW. xxx, 115-118 (April 15, 1893) *Both signed* "H."
"Taufe und Wiedergeburt," "Ist der Kämmerer aus Mohrenland durch Philippus begraben worden?" "Der Welt-Religionskongresz — ein Fehlschlag"
HW. xxx, 146-148 (May 15, 1893) *All signed* "H."
"Einheit der Gemeinde," "Das Schlafpredigen"
HW. xxx, 161-163 (June 1, 1893) *All signed* "H."

"Eine Lagerversammlung," "Fingerzeigen aus Familiennamen," "Unterschiede zwischen der alten und der neuen Welt"
HW. xxx, 177-179; 179-181; 186-188 (June 15, 1893) *All Signed* "H."
"Welche ist die wahre Gemeinde des Herrn?"
HW. xxx, 195-197 (July 1, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"Die Aufgabe der Gemeine Gottes"
HW. xxx, 210, 211 (July 15, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"D. L. Moody und sein Werk"
HW. xxx, 242 (August 15, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"Im östlichen Pennsylvanien"
HW. xxx, 309, 310 (October 15, 1893) *Signed* "H."
Comparison with a note on page 289 shows that "H." is John Horsch.
"Ein protestantisches Kloster,"
HW. xxx, 310, 311; 324, 325 (October 15, November 1, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"Urtheile über Menno Simons," "Eine lügenhafte Verdrehung," "Glaubt nicht an Moral"
HW. xxx, 338-340 (November 15, 1893) *All signed* "H."
"Ein Angriff auf die Fuszwaschung"
HW. xxx, 354, 355 (December 1, 1893) *Signed* "H."
"Zweck der Versammlungshäuser," "Der Welt-Religions-Kongresz nochmals"
HW. xxx, 371-373 (December 15, 1893) *All signed* "H."
"Sündenvergebung und Abendmahl"
HW. xxxi, 18, 19 (January 15, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Wehe euch, wenn euch Jedermann wohlredet," "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," "Die wehrlosen Taufgesinnten und die Baptisten," "Bibelschulen"
HW. xxxi, 97-99 (April 1, 1894) *All signed* "H."
"Die biblische Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele," "Was ist Verweltlichung?"
HW. xxxi, 114, 115 (April 15, 1894) *All signed* "H."
"Einige Gedanken über die Frage, Warum läszt Gott das Böse sein?"
HW. xxxi, 129, 130 (May 1, 1894) *Signed "H."*
"Der ärgerniszgebende Schnurrbart,"
HW. xxxi, 145, 146 (May 15, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Das Diakonissenamt," "Die Mennoniten verurtheilt"
HW. xxxi, 178, 179 (June 15, 1894) *Both signed* "H."
The second article is a rejoinder to something that appeared in the *Lutheraner*.
"Die Mennoniten verleumdet"
HW. xxxi, 194 (July 1, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Eine Zeit der Oberflächlichkeit"
HW. xxxi, 210 (July 15, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Heiligung"
HW. xxxi, 226 (August 1, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Aelteste oder Bischöfe?"
HW. xxxi, 241 (August 15, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Eine Teppichweihe"
HW. xxxi, 321, 322 (November 1, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Ueber die sogenannte Frauenbewegung"
HW. xxxi, 338, 339 (November 15, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Seid ihr denn in Pauli Namen getauft?"
HW. xxxi, 353 (December 1, 1894) *Signed* "H."
"Ein sonderbarer Mennonit"
HW. xxxii, 33, 34 (February 1, 1895) *Signed* "H."
"Um des Glaubens Willen"
HW. xxxii, 114 (April 15, 1895) *Signed* "H."
"Zu viel Theorie," "Nur drei Sünden," "Apostolische Gemeindezucht," "Was wird das Ende sein"
HW. xxxii, 131-133 (May 1, 1895) *All signed* "H."
"Die Stillen im Lande oder die Trägen im Lande?"
HW. xxxii, 145 (May 15, 1895) *Signed* "H."
"Ernst Christoph Hochmann, ein Prediger des Kreuz-Evangeliums"
HW. xxxii, 149, 150, 154, 155 (May 15, 1895) *Signed* "H."
"Ein Märtyrer seiner Ueberzeugung"
HW. xxxii, 195 (July 1, 1895) *Signed* "H."
"Die rechte Religion"
HW. xxxiii, 50, 51 (February 15, 1896)
"The Unreasonableness of Infidelity" *Young Peoples Paper*, v, 44, 45 (March 1898)
The article is in form an open letter refuting the "Arguments Generally Advanced in Favor of Infidelity." *Signed*, "John Horsch, Madison, Wis."

"Eine allgemeine Konferenz"
HW. xxxiii, 98, 99 (April 1, 1896)
"In einer Spiritisten Versammlung"
HW. xxxiii, 147, 148 (May 15, 1896)
"Glaube eines Ungläubigen"
HW. xxxiii, 226 (August 1, 1896)
"Believing in Spite of Infidelity"
Youngs Peoples Paper, iii, 124 (August 1, 1896)
"Ein liberaler Religionskongresz"
HW. xxxiv, 1, 2 (Jan. 1, 1897)
"Der Christ und die Krankheit"
HW. xxxv, 2 (January 1, 1898)
"Die Unvernünftigkeit des Unglaubens"
HW. xxxv, 84, 85 (March 15, 1898) 258, 259 (September 1, 1898)
"Krankenpflege und Gebet"
HW. xxxv, 134 (May 1, 1898) *Signed* "J.H." Madison, Wis.
"Menno on Baptism and Liberty of Conscience"
HT. xxxvii, 130, 131 (May 1, 1900)
"Menno Simons über die Taufe und Gewissensfreiheit"
HW. xxxvii, 97, 98 (July 1, 1900)
"Simplicity of Attire"
The Mennonite, (Dec. 1901) HT. xxxix, 11, 12 (Jan. 1, 1902) Addressed to H. G. Allebach.
"A Few Points on American Mennonite History"
HT. xxxix, 106, 107 (April 1, 1902)
"Peter Cartwright on Worldly Conformity"
HT. xxxix, 215 (July 15, 1902)
"What Is the Wisdom of This World?"
HT. xxxix, 229 (Aug. 1, 1902)
"Peter Cartwright über Weltförmigkeit"
MR. (Aug. 1902)
"Ist Gott nur eine Kraft?"
MR. (Jan. 28, 1903)
"Personal Courage of the Reformers"
HT. xl, 211, 218 (July 2, 9, 1903)
"Mennonite History"
HT. xl, 413 (Dec. 24, 1903)
"A Suggestion"
HT. xli, 178, 179 (June 2, 1904)
"The Old Hymnbook, *Ausbund*"
Sugarcreek (Ohio) Budget, June 30, 1904, and *HT.* xli, 210, 211 (June 30, 1904)
"Menno Simons, A Believer in the Deity of Christ"
HT. xli, 346 (Oct. 27, 1904)
Criticism of S. Kramer's articles on "Menno Simons" and "Mennonites" in Herzog: Encyclopedia
"Education or Regeneration"
HT. xlii, 162, 163 (May 25, 1905)
"The Anabaptists"
HT. xlii, 258, 259 (August 17, 1905)
"The Relation of the Swiss Brethren to Thomas Muenzer"
HT. xlii, 290, 291, 300, 301, 307 (September 14, 21, 28, 1905)
"The Persecution in Switzerland"
Menn. Y. & D., 1905, pages 8, 10, 12.
"Menno Simons and the Mennonites"
Menn. Y. & D., 1905, page 26.
"Philip Schaff on the Anabaptists"
HT. xliii, 54, 55 (Feb. 15, 1906)
"Pipe Organ and Song"
HT. xliii, 75 (March 8, 1906)
"Michael Sattler"
Menn. Y. & D., 1906, pages 24, 26, 28
"Menno's Name"
GW. ii, 805 (March 20, 1907)
"Martin Luther's Attitude Toward the Principle of Liberty of Conscience"
American Journal of Theology, xi, 307-315 (April 1907)

"Is It Dedication?"
GW. iii, 93, 94 (May 8, 1907)
"Martin Luther's Attitude Toward the Principle of Liberty of Conscience"
HT. xliv, 202, 203, 211, 221 (June 6, 13, 20, 1907)
"Rationalismus unter Taufgesinnten"
MR. (June 19, 1907)
"An Historical Sketch of the Mennonites"
GW. iii, 540 (Nov. 20, 1907)
"An Inconsistency"
Sugarcreek (Ohio) Budget, November 21, 1907.
"Two Remedies"
GW. iii, 578, 579 (Dec. 11, 1907)
"An Important Document"
Sugarcreek (Ohio) Budget, 1907
"Another Old Document"
Sugarcreek (Ohio) Budget, 1907
"Ein Wendepunkt in der lutherischen Reformation"
MR. 1907
Clipped article has at end this: (Zeitschrift für Th. u. Kirche)
"The Anabaptist Movement"
GW. iii, 667, 683 (Jan. 15, 22, 1908)
"The Great Persecution of the Anabaptists"
GW. iii, 699, 700, 715, 715, 731, 732 (Jan. 29, Feb. 5, 12, 1908).
"An Old Church Discipline on the Use of Tobacco"
HT. xlv, 37 (Jan. 30, 1908)
"Balthasar Hubmaier"
HT. xlv, 48, 49 (Feb. 6, 1908)
"An Announcement of a Meeting of the Swiss Brethren"
HT. xlv, 63 (Feb. 20, 1908)
"Two Meetings of the Swiss Brethren near Strasburg"
GW. iii, 763-764, 779, 795 (Feb. 26, March 4, 11, 1908).
Identical article in HT
"Two Meetings of the Swiss Brethren near Strasburg"
HT. xlv, 79 (March 5, 1908)
"The Strasburg Meetings Once More"
GH. i, 139, 140 (May 30, 1908)
"The Danger of Liberalism"
GH. i, 178, 179 (June 20, 1908)
"The Mode of Baptism at the Time of the Reformation,"
GH. i, 290, 291, 306-308 (August 8, 15, 1908)
"Does the Truth Need to be Defended?"
GH. i, 402 (Sept. 26, 1908)
"Why Our Forefathers Could Not Have Sunday Schools"
GH. i, 466, 467 (Oct. 24, 1908)
"The Church and Higher Education"
GH. i, 508, 509 (Nov. 7, 1908).
"The First Protest Against Slavery"
Menn. Y. & D., 1908, page 12
"The Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Menno Simons' Death"
GH. i, 652, 653 (Jan. 9, 1909)
"Menno Simons on Mission Work"
Sugarcreek (Ohio) Budget, January 28, 1909.
"What the Swiss Brethren Taught on Baptism"
GH. i, 690, 691, 706, 707 (Jan. 30, Feb. 6, 1909)
"With Such an One, No, Not to Eat"
GH. i, 786, 787 (March 13, 1909)
"Did Menno Condemn Those of Other Denominations?"
GH. i, 804 (March 20, 1909)
"Why Denominations Differ"
GH. ii, 61, 62, 75, 76 (April 22, 29, 1909)
"Eine unrichtige geschichtliche Darstellung"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xl, 38-40 (May 1, 1909) *Reply to B. Brons, art. in "Menn. Blätter."*
"The Consequences of Higher Criticism"
GH. ii, 99, 100 (May 13, 1909)

"The Oldest Mennonite Confession"
GH. ii, 141 (May 27, 1909)
"Zum Bekenntnisstandpunkt der Täufer"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xl, 62-63 (August 1, 1909). *Further reply to B. Brons.*
"How Old Is the Mennonite Church?"
GH. ii, 363, 364, 379, 380 (Sept. 2, 9, 1909)
"Menno Simons über die Autorität der heiligen Schrift"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xl, 73, 74 (September 15, 1909) *A collection of extracts from the writings of Menno Simons.*
"Pecuniary Compensation for Christian Work"
GH. ii, 419 (Sept. 30, 1909)
"Menno Simons über den Glauben"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xl, 82 (October 15, 1909) *Extracts from the writings of Menno Simons.*
"Menno Simons on the Divinity of Christ"
GH. ii, 627, 628 (Dec. 30, 1909)
"Zwei Versammlungen der Schweizer Brüder zur Zeit der Verfolgung"
FK. 1909, pages 28-30.
"A Higher Critic on Menno Simons"
FA. 1909, pages 10, 12
"Ein höherer Kritiker über Menno Simons"
FK. 1909, pages 14, 16
"Der Anteil der Täufer an der religiösen Entwicklung Nordamerikas"
Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender, 1909, pages 99-113.
"Menno Simons über die Gottheit Christi"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xli, 10, 11 (February 1, 1910) *Extracts from the writings of Menno Simons.*
"Menno Simons über Gewissensfreiheit"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xli, 18, 19 (March 1, 1910). *Extracts from the writings of Menno Simons.*
"Menno Simons über Missionsarbeit"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xli, 38 (May 15, 1910) *Extracts from the writings of Menno Simons.*
"On What Fundamentals Do Mennonites Agree?"
GH. iii, 114, 115 (May 26, 1910)
"Menno Simons on the Authority of the Holy Scriptures"
GH. iii, 227, 228, 242, 253, 254 (July 14, 21, 1910)
"A Protest"
GH. iii, 412 (Sept. 29, 1910)
"In Heretical Company"
GH. iii, 429 (October 6, 1910)
"Die Verfolgung der Gemeinde zur Zeit Menno Simons"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xli, 90, 91 (December 1, 1910). *Extracts from the writings of Menno Simons.*
"Die geschichtliche Stellung der Mennoniten zu der sogenannten modernen Theologie"
Friedensstimme (Halbstadt), no. 2-4 (December 4, 8, 1910)
A survey of early Mennonite history to prove that men like Hans Denk and Adam Pastor were not representative of the theological views held by the founders of the Mennonite Church. A reply to a Mennonite preacher, Dr. Appeldorn of Emden, who spoke as a representative of the Mennonites before the "Weltkongresz für freies Christentum," held in Berlin, Germany, August 8-10, 1910, whose speech was published in *Mennonitische Blätter,* November, 1910.
"Who Were the Anabaptists?"
FA., 1910, pages 30, 31.
"Mennonites in America" in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* Vol. vii, pp. 306-309. New York, 1910
"Menno Simons über die Autorität der Heiligen Schrift"
FK. 1910, pages 26-28. *Excerpts from "Works"*
"Menno Simons über Gewissensfreiheit"
FK. 1910, pages 40-41. *Excerpts from "Works"*
"Die geschichtliche Stellung der Mennoniten zu der sog. modernen Theologie"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xlii, 5, 8-10 (January 1, 15, 1911)
"Zum zwölften Januar, 1911, dem dreihundert-funfundsiebzigsten Jahrestag des Austritts Menno Simons aus der römischen Kirche"
MR. xxxiv, no. 2, 2-9 (January 11, 1911)
Contains brief articles (unsigned, but see editor's note on page 12) by Horsch,

as follows: "Menno Simons über die Autorität der heiligen Schrift" "Menno Simons Bekehrung," "Menno Simons Verhältnis zu der Münsterschen Sekte," "Menno Simons Stellung zu der Gewissensfreiheit," "Die geschichtliche Stellung der Mennoniten zu der sog. modernen Theologie," "Menno Simons über die Gottheit Christi."

"Menno Simons über die Gottheit Christi"
Friedensstimme (Halbstadt), no. 2, 3 (January 19, 1911).

"Menno Simons Stellung zur Gewissensfreiheit"
Friedensstimme (Halbstadt), ? No. ?, 1-3 (January 26, 1911)

"'Menno Simons' Verhältnis zu der Münsterschen Sekte"
Friedensstimme, (Halbstadt), ? No. ?, 2, 3; No. ?, 2, 3 (Feb. 2, 5, 1911)

"Die mennonitische Auffassung von der Gemeinde"
MR. xxiv, no. 8, 2, 3; no. 12, 2; no. 11, 2, 3 (Feb. 22, March 8, 15, 1911) *A pencil note refers to "Gemeindeblatt,"* March 1911.

"Die mennonitische Auffassung von der Gemeinde"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xlii, 21, 22, 31, 32 (March 1, April 1, 1911)

"Die mennonitische Auffassung von der Gemeinde"
Friedensstimme (Halbstadt), ? No. ?, 2, 3; No. ?, 2-4 (March 9, 12, 1911)

"Ein freisinniges Urteil über die Mennoniten in Deutschland"
MR. xxxiv, no. 13, 2-4 (March 29, 1911)

"Menno Simons Verhältnisz zu der Münsterschen Sekte"
Deutsch-Amerikanische Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, xxxii, 80-87 (March-April, 1911)

"Die Stellung der Schweizer Brüder zu Thomas Münzer"
MR. xxxiv, no. 15, 16, 17 (April 12, 1911)

"Dirck Philips and the English Edition of His Works"
GH. iv, 93 (May 11, 1911)

"Ein freisinniges Urteil über die Mennoniten in Deutschland"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xlii, 55-56, 59-60 (June 1 and 15, 1911) *Against an article in "Doopsgezind Jaarboekje"* by *J. G. Appeldorn.*

"The Anabaptist View of Toleration"
CM. iii, 179, 180, 184, 191 (June 1911)

"The Origin and Principles of the Anabaptists"
The Review and Expositor, Louisville, Ky., viii, 406-419 (July, 1911) *Documented with footnotes giving source references.*

"Der Ursprung der Gemeinschaft der Schweizer Brüder und die Geschichte der ersten Brüder in Zürich"
MR. xxxiv, no. 29, 4-7; no. 30, 4, 5; no. 31, 4-7; no. 32, 4, 5; no. 33, 4-7; no. 34, 4, 5; no. 35, 4, 5; no. 36, 4, 5; no. 37, 6, 7; no. 38, 4, 5; no. 39, 9, 10; no. 40, 4, 5; no. 41, 4, 5; no. 42, 4, 5; no. 43, 8-10; no. 44, 7-10; no. 45, 6 (Issues from July 19 to November 8, 1911 inclusive). *Extensively documented*

"A Work on the Doctrine of the Church Before Menno Simons' Time"
GH. iv, 411, 412, 426, 427, 442, 443 (Sept. 28, Oct. 5, 12, 1911). *Report of Zofingen Debate,* 1532.

"Die St. Galler Täufer"
MR. xxxiv, no. 46, 9, 10; no. 47, 5, 6; no. 48, 9, 10; no. 49, 5, 6; no. 51, 7-10 (Nov. 15, 22, 29, Dec. 6, 20, 1911). *Extensively documented*

"Sekten unter den Täufern der Schweiz"
MR. xxxiv, no. 52, 7-9 (December 27, 1911). *Documented*

"Menno Simons on Various Points of Doctrine"
FA., 1911, pages 26, 28, 30. *Excerpts from "Works"*

"Persecution of the Church at the Time of Menno Simons"
FA., 1911, pages 12, 14. *Excerpts from "Works"*

"Die Stellung der Schweizer Brüder zu Thomas Münzer"
Der Hilfsbote (Cassel), xxx, 83-87, (1911)

"Menno Simons," in the New Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* vol. x, pp. 425-429. New York, 1911.

"Die Stellung der Schweizer Brüder zu Thomas Münzer"
MR. xxxiv, no. 52, 9, 10; xxxv, no. 1, 10 (Dec. 27, 1911, Jan. 3, 1912). *Documented*

"Die Stellung der Gemeinde zu der Weltweisheit"
MR. xxxv, 2, 3 (January 3, 1912)

"Bullingers erstes Werk gegen die Schweizer Brüder"
MR. xxxv, no. 4, 10 (January 24, 1912) *Documented*

"Die brüderliche Vereinigung etlicher Kinder Gottes, das Bekenntnis der Schweizer Brüder"
MR. xxxv, no. 4, 7-10 (Jan. 24, 1912) *Documented*

"Is the Church an End in Itself?"
GH. iv, 742-744 (Feb. 28, 1912)
"Das Gleichnis vom Unkraut und Weizen"
HW. i, 55 (March 15, 1912)
"Die Fuszwaschung"
HW. i, 58, 59 (March 15, 1912)
"Vom freien Willen"
HW. i, 74-76 (April 1, 1912)
"Menno Simons über Busze und Bekehrung"
HW. i, 84, 85 (April 15, 1912)
"Kaspar Schwenckfeld und seine Stellung zu den Täufern"
MR. xxxv, no. 24, 7, 8 (June 12, 1912) *Documented*
"Die Täufer in Schaffhausen"
MR. xxxv, no. 24, 8; no. 26, 5, 6 (June 12, 26, 1912) *Documented*
"A Valuable Document"
GH. v, 171 (June 13, 1912)
Report of the Debate of Berne, 1538
"Der Grundsatz von der Schonung der Schwachen in der staatskirchlichen Reformation,"
MR. xxxv, no. 26, 6-8; no. 27, 5-7 (June 26, July 3, 1912) *Documented*
"Die Grundsätze der oberdeutschen Täufer vor Menno Simons Bekehrung"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xliii, 54, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63 (July 1 to Aug. 15, 1912, inclusive)
"Die basler Täufer"
MR. xxxv, no. 27, 7, 8; no. 28, 6-8; no. 29, 5, 6 (July 3, 10, 17, 1912) *Documented*
"Die Grundsätze der oberdeutschen Täufer vor Menno Simons Bekehrung"
Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten, xliii, 54-55, 58-59, 62-63 (July 15, Aug. 1 and 15, 1912)
"Die Grundsätze der oberdeutschen Täufer vor Menno Simons Bekehrung"
MR. xxxv, no. 29, 6-8, no. 30, 7, 8 (July 17, 24, 1912).
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GH. xxxi, 639-642 (Oct. 20, 1938)
"The Early Mennonite Teaching on Liberty of Conscience"
CM. xxx, 296, 297 (October, 1938)
"The Position of the Early Mennonites As Regards the Principle of Nonresistance"
GH. xxxi, 666, 667, 677, 678 (Nov. 3, 1938)
"Zur Wehrlosigkeitsfrage"
Der Bote, xv, no. 46, 2 (Nov. 16, 1938)
MR. lxi, no. 47, 2 (Nov. 23, 1938) *A reply to B. H. Unruh.*
"The Relation of the Old Testament Scriptures to the New Testament"
CM. xxx, 329 (November, 1938)
"The Life of the Mennonites of Switzerland As Seen by an Opponent Two and a Half Centuries Ago"
CM. xxx, 360, 361 (December, 1938)
"Menno Simons on the Principle of Nonresistance"
GH. xxxi, 874, 875 (Jan. 12, 1939)

"Nonresistance and the Service of the Army Chaplain"
CM. xxxi, 5, 6 (January, 1939)
"Strasburg, A Swiss Brethren Center"
MQR. xiii, 21-27 (January, 1939)
"The Christian Conscience Against War"
GH. xxxi, 1050, 1051, 1066, 1067, 1082, 1083 (March 9, 16, 23, 1939)
"The First Mennonite Printing Office"
CM. xxxi, 68 (March, 1939)
"Die wahrhaften Täufer der Reformationszeit"
Der Herold (Newton) ? (April 20, 1939) *A reply to B. H. Unruh.*
"Washing the Saints' Feet"
GH. xxxii, 83 (April 27, 1939)
"The Early Mennonites of Holland"
CM. xxxi, 100, 101 (April, 1939)
"The Amish Division"
CM. xxxi, 133 (May, 1939)
"The So-Called Noncombatant Military Service"
GH. xxxii, 210 (June 8, 1939)
"The Ancestors of the Pennsylvania Mennonites in the Palatinate"
CM. xxxi, 164, 165 (June, 1939)
"The Teaching of the Mennonite Church Fathers on Divine Illumination and Christian Experience"
GH. xxxii, 338, 339 (July 20, 1939)
"Prayer for the Sick Among the Swiss Brethren of Former Centuries"
GH. xxxii, 362 (July 27, 1939)
"The Evangelical Anabaptists in South Germany"
CM. xxxi, 198 (July, 1939)
"The Decadence of Apostolic Christianity and the First Divisions of the Church"
CM. xxxi, 228, 229 (August, 1939)
"The Earlier Writings of Menno Simons and the Aims of the Mennonite Church"
GH. xxxii, 530, 531, 539, 540 (Sept. 21, 1939)
"The Testimony of an Opponent"
GH. xxxii, 555 (Sept. 28, 1939)
"The Anabaptists"
CM. xxxi, 260, 261, 292-294 (Sept., Oct., 1939)
"Observations Concerning a Live Issue"
GH. xxxii, 698 (Nov. 9, 1939)
"War Propaganda"
GH. xxxii, 722, 827 (Nov. 23, Dec. 28, 1939)
"The Swiss Brethren in Canton Berne"
CM. xxxi, 325, 326, 340, 357, 358, 379, xxxii, 5, 6, 23, (Nov., Dec., 1939, Jan., 1940)
"The Influence of the Mennonite Church Upon Other Churches and Movements"
GH. xxxii, 786, 787 (Dec. 14, 1939)
"Menno Simons' Position on Avoidance"
GH. xxxii, 902-904 (Jan. 18, 1940)
"The Half-Anabaptists of Switzerland"
MQR. xiv, 57-59 (January, 1940)
"The Teaching of the Early Mennonite Church on the Doctrine of the Trinity of God"
GH. xxxii, 994, 995 (Feb. 22, 1940)
"Unfounded Theories Concerning the Origin of the Mennonite Church"
CM. xxxii, 37, 38 (Feb. 1940)
"Was Adam Pastor the Father of Theological Liberalism Among the Mennonites of Holland?"
GH. xxxii, 1058, 1059 (March 14, 1940)
"Support of Ministers"
GH. xxxii, 1091 (March 28, 1940)
"Prominent Co-Workers of Menno Simons"
CM. xxxii, 69 (March, 1940)
"The Doctrines of Sin, Salvation, and Sanctification as Held by the Early Mennonites"
CM. xxxii, 100, 101, 133, 134 (April, May, 1940)
"Washing the Saints' Feet"
GH. xxxiii, 98, 99 (May 2, 1940)
"The So-Called Half-Anabaptists"
GH. xxxiii, 138, 139 (May 9, 1940)

"The Early Mennonite Position as to the Oath and Nonconformity to the World"
GH. xxxiii, 146, 147 (May 16, 1940)
"Praying for the Sick Among the Mennonites of Switzerland in the Seventeenth Century"
GH. xxxiii, 346 (July 18, 1940)
"The Origin of Protestant State Churchism"
CM. xxxii, 358 (Dec., 1940)
"A Notable Testimony to the Life of the Anabaptists of Switzerland"
MQR. xv, 276-278 (October, 1941)

B. *Books and Pamphlets*

Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinden: Nebst einem Abrisz der Literatur der Taufgesinnten. 146 pages. Elkhart, Indiana, 1890.

The Mennonites, Their History, Faith, and Practice. 40 pages. Elkhart, Indiana, 1893.

Mennonitische Vierteljahrsschrift, vol. I, No. 1 (October, 1900) pages 1-16; No. 2 (January, 1901) pages 17-32.

Only two issues appeared. The price per year as announced was twenty-five cents. John Horsch was editor and publisher. Aside from some selected articles and poems, he was the writer of most of the contents of these two numbers.

A Short History of Christianity, viii—304 pages. Cleveland, Ohio, 1903.

A Reply to the Sensational Accusations Recently Preferred Against Members of the Amish Mennonite Church of Berne, Indiana, 32 pages. Berne, Indiana, (1915)

Menno Simons, His Life, Labors, and Teachings, 324 pages, with Bibliography, Dictionary, Index, and Map. Scottdale, Pa., 1916.

Infant Baptism: Its Origin Among Protestants and the Arguments Advanced For and Against It, 157 pages, with notes, dictionary, and index, Scottdale, Pa., 1917.

The Higher Criticism and the New Theology, 78 pages. 1917.

What Ails Our Colleges and Seminaries? 30 pages. Fundamental Truth Depot, Scottdale, Pa. This was No. 19 of *The Fundamental Truth Series.* Only five of the projected numbers of this series were published separately, and these were later incorporated as chapters in the book entitled *Modern Religious Liberalism,* (1920).

A Religious Revolution and Its Consequences, 16 pages. Fundamental Truth Depot, Scottdale, Pa., 1920. No. 1 of *The Fundamental Truth Series.*

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, 15 pages. Fundamental Truth Depot, Scottdale, Pa., 1920. This was No. 2 of *The Fundamental Truth Series.*

The Social Gospel, 16 pages. Fundamental Truth Depot, Scottdale, Pa., 1920. This was No. 7 of *The Fundamental Truth Series.*

The Modernist View of Missions, 16 pages. Fundamental Truth Depot, Scottdale, Pa., 1920. This was No. 9 of *The Fundamental Truth Series.*

Modern Religious Liberalism: The Destructiveness and Irrationality of the New Theology, 331 pages, documented, with index. Fundamental Truth Depot, Scottdale, Pa., 1920. Second edition (with subtitle: The Destructiveness and Irrationality of Modernist Theology), 320 pages, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa., 1924. Third edition, revised, 320 pages. The Bible Institute Colportage Association, Chicago, 1938. The only book by an American Mennonite author to attain any circulation of note outside of Mennonite circles.

Die biblische Lehre von der Wehrlosigkeit, 127 pages, Scottdale, Pa., 1920. There are extensive notes and documentary references.

The Mennonite Church and Modernism, 143 pages. Scottdale, Pa., 1924.

The Failure of Modernism: A Reply to Harry Emerson Fosdick, 64 pages, with index. Chicago, 1925. This booklet was written in reply to Dr. Fosdick's article, "What Christian Liberals Are Driving At," published in *Ladies' Home Journal* of ——.

Worldly Conformity in Dress, 48 pages. Scottdale, Pa., (1925). Second edition, 1926.

Is the Mennonite Church of America Free from Modernism? 32 pages. Scottdale, Pa., 1926. This booklet was written in reply to an article published in three Mennonite periodicals attacking Horsch's earlier booklet entitled *The Mennonite Church and Modernism.* When the same periodicals declined to publish Horsch's reply to the attack, he published it in this booklet.

"The Principle of Nonresistance as Held by the Mennonite Church: An Historical Survey, 60 pages, Scottdale, Pa., 1927. Second edition, revised and enlarged, 74 pages, Scottdale, Pa., 1939. Same reprinted at same place, 1940.

This treatise is well documented with notes and references to the pertinent sources.

Symposium on War, 44 pages. Scottdale, Pa., 1927. Consists entirely of published statements and sentiments on the subjects of war and peace.

The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931: A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty, xxi—168 pages, with bibliography, maps, index. Goshen, Indiana, 1931.

Menno Simons' Life and Writings: A Quadricentennial Tribute, 1536-1936. Biography by Harold S. Bender; Writings Selected and Translated from the Dutch by John Horsch. 111 pages. Scottdale, Pa., 1936.

Communism: A Deadly Foe to the Christian Faith Assuming the Guise of Christianity, 28 pages. Chicago, 1937. The booklet is a chapter of the book *Modern Religious Liberalism,* third edition (1938) published separately.

Mennonites in Europe, xvi—425 pages, with notes, bibliography, and index. Scottdale, Pa., 1942.

The Background and Heritage of the Mennonite Church, 22 pages. (1920?) Scottdale, Pa.

War and the Christian Conscience, 16 pages, Scottdale, Pa.

Higher Criticism and Higher Critics, 4 pages. John Horsch, Berne, Indiana.

Farm und Haus (Monatliche Zeitschrift für Ackerbau, Viehzucht, Gartenbau, Bienenzucht, u.s.w., sowie für Hanswirtschaft und den haüslichen Kreis)

The first issue of this farm journal appeared in September, 1898. John Horsch was the editor and publisher, operating as Farm & Haus Publishing Co. It was begun at Madison, Wisconsin, moved first to Elkhart, then to Berne, Ind., where it was sold in the fall of 1901 to E. B. Betzner and A. J. Steiner, who published it further at Bluffton, Ohio. Horsch apparently wrote most of this 16-page 8x12-inch journal contents.

C. *Book Reviews*

Thielenhaus: *Betrachtungen über die göttliche Erziehung des Menschen.* 1887. Mennonitische Verlagshandlung, Elkhart, Indiana.

Joseph Beck: *Die Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertaüfer in Oesterreich-Ungarn, betreffend deren Schicksale in der Schweiz, Salzburg, Ober Süddeutschland, Ungarn, Siebenbürgen, und Südruszland in der Zeit von 1526 bis 1785* Wien, 1883.

Signed "H."

HW. xxv, 120 (April 15, 1888)

"Ein neues Büchlein." *Von der Wahren Liebe* (Hans Denk) nebst: *Eine Auslegung des Vaterunsers von Hans Langenmantel. Zwei alt-evangelische Schriften aus dem Jahre 1527.* 32 pages. Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Indiana.

HW. xxv, 196 (July 1, 1888) Signed "J.H."

"Der Mennonit"

HW. xxv, 229, 230 (August 1, 1888) Signed "H."

A review and criticism of Ernst von Wildenbruch's tragedy with this title.

"A Good Book"

HT. xlii, 109 (April 6, 1905)

A review of F. Bettex: *The Bible the Word of God* (190)

"Tillie, a Mennonite Maid"

HT. xliii, 249 (July 5, 1906)

"Tillie a Mennonite Maid"

FK, 1909, page 20

"A Voice of Warning"

GH. vi, 710 (Feb. 12, 1914)

A review of L. W. Munhall: *Breakers! Methodism Adrift.*

"A New Book on Menno Simons"

GH. vii, 339 (August 20, 1914).

Review of Vos: *Menno Simons*

"A Good Book"

GH. ix, 859 (Feb. 22, 1917)

A review of J. H. Raven: *Old Testament Introduction.*

"A New Book on Mennonite History"

GH. xiv, 634-635, 651-652, 658, 659, 661 (Nov. 10, 17, 24, 1921).

Review and critique of Dosker: *The Dutch Anabaptists.*

"Is the Principle of the Separated Life Antagonistic to the Mission Spirit?"
GH. xxiv, 674, 675, 690, 691, 706-708 (Oct. 29, Nov. 5, 12, 1931).
Review and critique of certain features of the book by E. G. Kaufman: *The Development of the Missionary and Philanthropic Interest Among the Mennonites of North America.*

"The Postponement Theory"
GH. xxvi, 722, 723, 731, 732 (Nov. 23, 1933).
Review and critique of Barnhouse: *His Own Received Him Not, But . . .*

"The Lesson of the World War: A Book Review"
CM. xxvi, 37-39 (February, 1934).
Review of Abrams: *Preachers Present Arms.*

"Is Dr. Kühlers Conception of Anabaptism Historically Sound?"
Mennonite Quarterly Review
Review and critique of W. J. Kühler's *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de Zestiende Eeuw* (1932)

"Menno Simons," by Cornelius Krahn.
Review in Mennonite Quarterly Review xxi (1946) July.

Book Review

Incomplete Notes for a Review Left by John Horsch (†1941)

Menno Simons (1496-1561). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten. Von Cornelius Krahn, Dr. Theol. Karlsruhe, Druck und Verlag Heinrich Schneider, 1936. Pp. 192.

This is a work of distinct merit, surpassing in various respects all former biographies of Menno Simons. Not a few misconceptions of former writers concerning Menno Simons' life and teaching are pointed out. Important facts based on new material have been incorporated. The present review is aimed to be mainly a critique.

The author thinks that Menno Simons' baptism by Obbe Philips may have taken place a number of months before he resigned his pastorate as a priest and renounced the Roman Church. Can it be supposed, however, that Obbe Philips would have baptized a Catholic priest except upon renunciation of Romanism? Could Menno in that case have given the Obbenites of that period the testimony that they were irreproachable in doctrine and life, as he does?

What our author says concerning the assertion that Menno Simons referred to the Anabaptists of Münster as "brethren" seems to leave the question open to doubt. The passage in which Menno is supposed to have spoken of the Münsterites as brethren is found in the first edition of his *Foundation,* in the chapter headed "To the Corrupt Sects," addressed particularly to the Münsterites. He begins this chapter with the statement that the Münsterites had so "miserably" departed from the true doctrine of Christ, that they had fallen prey to even greater errors than those of the Church of Rome. In no uncertain tones he denounces the false teachings of the Münsterites. Those to whom he refers as brethren, were the so-called Oldcloisterites. He points out that they had erred by taking the sword in defence against their persecutors, but states that they had not received light on this point. He says, "The upright and pious (among them) I call my sisters and brethren for the reason that they leave erred unknowingly." "I do not doubt that they have a gracious God, for they were, I hope, not tainted with the aforesaid (Münsterite) heresies." The author's opinion that these people had the Münsterite emissary Jan van Gellen for their leader is unsupportable.

Concerning Menno Simons' peculiar doctrine of the incarnation of Christ our author has arrived at new conclusions. As is perhaps generally known, in Menno's view the origin, or inception, of Jesus' human body was the result of a divine miracle to which Mary contributed nothing. Yet His body was, in its prenatal state, nourished in the natural way similarly as a grain of wheat is nourished by the soil in which it is sown, without partaking of the nature of the field. So Mary was truly Jesus' mother. It was believed that through this view the question was solved, how Mary could be Jesus' mother without imparting to Him her own sinful nature. The fact was overlooked that His perfect purity did after all not depend on the way in which He became a man.

In 1549 Menno wrote that when he first heard of this teaching, he did not believe it to be scriptural, and even after his baptism he was harrassed by doubts as to its orthodoxy (Opera, 525). His opponents saw that here was a vulnerable point in Menno's teaching. In his first debate (with John a Lasco) he was contrary to his desire compelled to make this a point of discussion. Martin Micron, with whom Menno had a debate at Wismar at

a later date, complained that in the sentences proposed by Menno as a basis for the doctrinal discussion his doctrine on the incarnation was not mentioned and insisted that this be included. Repeatedly Menno says that contrary to his inclinations he was compelled to debate on this question. In various places of his writings he stated that while he held this view, he did not make mention of it in his common preaching. Again he says, "There are probably many members of our brotherhood who are truly pious but have never in their lives heard a word of this doctrine of the incarnation" (Opera p. 528a).

In his defence against some of his opponents Menno Simons ascribed greater importance to this view. In fact, he permitted himself to be pushed by them into a position where he asserted this view to be of great consequence. Nevertheless, there is conclusive evidence that Menno Simons did not consider this opinion on the incarnation of such fundamental importance as would appear from the author's pertinent statements. In the efforts put forth for actual union of the Mennonites of the Netherlands and of North Germany with the Swiss Brethren Menno completely ignored the fact that the Swiss and Upper Germans did not accept this teaching. He extended to them the hand of brotherhood, although he was fully aware of their rejection of the said view on the incarnation.

The author states (p. 157) that Menno Simons did not accept the doctrine of the true humanity of Christ as held by the general Christian church. And again he says (p. 160) that in Menno's opinion Jesus' human body was the same as Adam's before the fall. Needless to say, no one doubts the true humanity of Adam, though he was not born of woman. In his writings Menno very frequently states that he believed the true humanity of Christ.

Although the author holds that Menno Simons did not accept the orthodox view of the true humanity of Christ, he makes the strange assertion that in Menno's opinion the true church is of the same substance (*wesensgleich*) with Christ, that she is of divine essence as substance (*Wesen*). Furthermore, he believes that in Menno's view such *Wesensgleichheit* could be a reality only on the ground of the truth of his doctrine of the incarnation. According to our author, Menno held that Christ saves sinful man and transforms him to be of divine essence in virtue of the peculiar way in which the incarnation became a fact (160). Thus this doctrine is held to be essential to Menno's system.

Menno, it is true, quotes in a few places Eph. 5:30: "We are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones," and other passages of similar import. Need it be said that he took such passages in a figurative sense? Or did he believe that the designation of "members of Christ" is to be taken literally? As a matter of fact, Menno Simons taught that the regenerated, being born of the Spirit, are partakers of the divine nature. He did however indeed not hold that regeneration causes them to be of divine essence, which obviously would exclude human imperfection. He always distinguished between being born of the Spirit, as are the true believers, and "conceived of the Holy Ghost," as is stated of Jesus. He says: "Dear brethren, we do not say that Christ was born of the Spirit, but we say with the Scriptures that He was conceived and became flesh through the Holy Ghost. . . . No one doubts that born of the Spirit means regeneration" (Opera 533). Again he says: ". . . Nevertheless, on account of our first Adamic birth we are so poisoned by the serpent and so corrupted by nature that we can nevermore become free of our unclean, sinful flesh so long as we dwell in this tabernacle; but oftentimes (though involuntarily) mix and

soil ourselves therewith" (Opera 379a). Clearly, this contradicts the opinion that Menno Simons believed the regenerated to be of divine essence.

As concerns the alleged connections between regeneration and the said peculiar view of the incarnation, it should be kept in mind that Menno taught with all Christendom that only a perfectly sinless Redeemer could effect the atonement, and he held that the said doctrine alone could give assurance that Jesus was born without the contamination of Adam's sin.

The author criticizes a statement made by the present writer that Menno's peculiar doctrine of the incarnation was discarded by the Mennonites before the end of the sixteenth century. He shows that the text of one of the Mennonite Confessions, written early in the following century, as given by Schyn-Maatschoen, has an allusion to this doctrine. However, this clause is not found in the text of this Confession as given by van Braght in the *Martyrs' Mirror* of 1685. With this exception the doctrine is never mentioned in any of the Mennonite Confessions except incidentally in the Frisian Confession of 1630 in a sentence disapproving of controversy on this point.

The Swiss Brethren and Hutterian Brethren did not differ from Menno Simons in their teaching on regeneration and on the nature of the church, and yet did not accept Menno's view on the incarnation and the Mennonites of Holland and Northern Germany discarded it within about a half century after Menno's death. The Hutterians in fact, excommunicated one of their members for holding this doctrine—striking evidence that this doctrine is not essential to the evangelical Anabaptists' view of the church.

The author says (p. 128) that Menno's pertinent teaching contains the root or original essence (*Ansatz*) of perfectionism and of the hyprocrisy (*Scheinheiligkeit*) which the reformers of the state church type laid to the charge of the Anabaptists. Again, the author while admitting that Menno Simons did not teach sinless perfection, often speaks of his insistence on the church being "without spot or wrinkle." A superficial reader of the book may come to the conclusion that this expression (taken from Eph. 5:27) as used by Menno in his writings (though seldom used) is an indication that he demanded a church free from human imperfections, which is not by any means the case.

Concerning the charge of perfectionism and hypocrisy Menno defended himself frequently. He says for example: "We are reproached to be hypocrites and they lie concerning us that we claim to be without sin. This they do not for the reason that with all Scripture we teach the need of a life indicating penitence, and we testify with holy Paul that perjurors, adulterers, idolaters, drunkards, avaricious, liars and unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (Opera p. 511, English Works II, 316b).

The author says further: "In the effort (of Menno) to constitute a visible Church of God, the differentiation made by the reformers (Luther, Zwingli and Calvin) between the visible and invisible church must necessarily be relegated to the background, for in the last analysis such a differentiation is an admission that what the evangelical Anabaptists (and Menno Simons in particular) undertook to do was impossible to be carried out."

In the author's opinion, then, a differentiation between the visible and the invisible church implies the admission that Menno Simons and his co-workers undertook to do that which was impossible. He believes that what Menno and his co-workers undertook to accomplish in the way of establishing a Christian church was possible only if the distinction between the visible and invisible church could be wiped out.

The evangelical Anabaptists, including (of course) Menno Simons, taught distinctly that the visible church is not identical with the invisible

church. Of this there is abundant proof. They did not hold that to be a true Christian church (a New Testament church) the church must make sure of having no hypocrites among its membership. Menno says: "So long as the transgressors and wilful despisers are unknown to the church, she is innocent, but when they are known and not expelled, after proper admonition, but are suffered to remain in the communion of the church, then in my opinion, she ceases to be the church of Christ" (Opera, 302b; English Works, II, p. 85). Many other passages of similar meaning could be quoted from Menno's writings. See especially his statements concerning secret sins (Opera p. 201a; Works, I, 254, first and second volumes).

Menno and his co-workers, then, fully admitted that those who are guilty of glaring transgressions may be found in a true Christian church, so long as their sin is not known to the church. Pointing to the instance of Judas who (so Menno believed) partook of the Lord's Supper with the other Apostles, Menno gives as the reason why he was not excluded the fact that his sin was not yet known, and the church is responsible only for known transgression.

Did the Münsterites represent a wing of the same movement as that of the Swiss Brethren and the Mennonites, as the author seems to assume?

Very true, as the author remarks, Alanson's *Tegenbericht* is a source of uncertain value. Alenson says a great deal without revealing his sources. However, as concerns the story of Menno's alleged curious experiences with Leonard Bouwens at Harlingen in this instance Alenson names the one who claimed to have personally witnessed the occurrence at Harlingen. Her name was Appolonia Ottes. According to Alenson's report, he did not have this story direct from her, but from "one of our ministers" to whom she related it. Curiously enough, he does not reveal the name of this minister and does not say that he (Alenson) had the story direct from him. Even more curious is the fact that Appolonia Ottes told her story only in her old age, and it was not published until about seventy years after Menno's death. It is an absurd story—evidently a fabrication.

According to our author "Menno also speaks of the millennium" (p. 112). He does in but one instance. He says, "The Cerinthians (followers of Cerinthus) believed . . . that Christ would reign one thousand years in the flesh with His saints" (Opera, p. 55b; Engl. Works I).

Scottdale, Pa. 1937 John Horsch (†1941)